

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CULTURE CONTACT.  
A SURVEY OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF MAORI RELATIONSHIPS  
WITH THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARIES, 1822-34.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE OBJECT, SCOPE AND VALUE OF THE STUDY.

Much has been written about the effects of Missionary contacts in many parts of the world. Likewise, the present stage of development of inter-cultural contacts in particular communities has been examined by interested social psychologists and cultural anthropologists. But seldom has it been possible for social psychologists or cultural anthropologists to watch a Christian Missionary commence his work among a primitive people and thereby observe the initial stages of such an inter-cultural relationship. Of his opportunities in this respect the Christian Missionary has not been fully aware. He was not a scientist, nor was he devoted to science per se. His calling was to preach the Gospel and the "grand object" of his vocation was to "convert the heathen". Such an object necessarily involved changing a people's beliefs and customs. Of that he was aware. But to him the process of change was unimportant so long as the end was achieved. What then social psychologists and cultural anthropologists could not do, and what the Missionaries themselves cared not to waste time in doing, this study attempts to do in a limited way.

The object of this study is to make a survey of certain aspects of Maori relationships with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries between the years 1822-1834, and

therefrom to attempt an analysis of some of the psychological factors operating in this inter-cultural situation.

The scope of this thesis has been limited in various ways. Geographically, the scene of the incidents surveyed is in the Northland of New Zealand, principally about the Whangaroa and Hokianga harbours. The year 1822 marks the arrival of the first body of Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in New Zealand : the year 1834 practically closes the first phase of that Mission when the initial clash of cultures was over and increasing numbers of converts were offering themselves as candidates for Christian baptism. Of this initial period of culture contacts only certain aspects have been surveyed. Those selected are what the Missionaries would call their "secular" activities, viz. trading, teaching, healing the sick and making peace. And, because the Missionary was a European trading, teaching, healing and making peace, a survey of the Maori reaction to the Wesleyan Missionary as a European has also been attempted. The standpoint adopted is that of the Missionary in his secular activities, The reactions traced out are mainly those of the Maori people.

The value of the study has already been hinted at, Today the opportunities for studying the initial contacts between two cultures are rare; Missionaries have seldom seen themselves as those among whom they worked saw them; the lack of training in anthropology still exists in many Colleges preparing Missionaries for the field; a knowledge of how men

and their belief may be expected to react to new ideas is not without value. It is therefore hoped that the reconstructed Maori reactions to the various secular roles played by the Wesleyan Missionaries will not be without novelty and usefulness, and that the classification of psychological factors operating in what must have been a period of intense stress, while not new, will at least confirm what has been observed in other stress situations.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.

Almost the whole of the existing literature concerning the work of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries is in the form of historical narratives designed to commemorate the labours of devoted servants of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and to stimulate a more active and intelligent interest in Missionary enterprise. The writer knows of no systematic reconstruction of the way in which the Maori people reacted to the impact of the secular activities of the Wesleyan Missionaries in New Zealand.

From the pens of a number of scientific writers have come papers, monographs and books dealing with current intercultural relationships. Few have been devoted wholly to the impact of, and reaction to Missionary activity, and fewer still are devoted to the Maori. Such as do attempt a summary of the influence of Christian Missions usually do so in a special chapter of a larger work. Among these are "The Maori People Today", edited by I.G.L. Sutherland (32) and "Some Modern Maoris" by Ernest Beaglehole (1). The general impression gained from reading in this field, is that many scientific writers are suffering from a reaction against the claims put forward by Missionary writers to show the worth of Missions. Now while it is true that there has been a tendency to put a halo above the head of the Missionary and to draw in dark

relief the background from which converts have been won, it is also true that the work of some men of science so idyllises the former primitive culture as to make it a veritable Garden of Eden and to curse the Missionary as though he were the serpent that ended that primitive bliss. What has not always been clearly recognised is that to many social changes there attaches a high "social price" best illustrated perhaps, in those causes of stress listed as "Stress engendered from the conflict of Ideals, and other such Dilemma Situations." This study attempts to reconstruct clearly some of the situations which arose in the initial period of Maori-Missionary contacts in New Zealand without idyllizing the Missionary or declaiming against him, but simply to follow through certain aspects of Maori-Missionary relationships in an objective and unprejudiced manner.

Those investigators to whom the present writer is particularly indebted in the analysis of the psychological factors at the close of the work are Dollard, Doob and their associates in their experimental work upon the Frustration-Agression Hypothesis (11) and Alexander H. Leighton in "The Governing of Men." (21)



### CHAPTER III

#### THE MATERIALS USED AND THE METHOD OF PROCEDURE.

The source materials used in this study fall into three Groups, viz. (a) primary, (b) secondary, (c) related. Primary sources are the copies of correspondence passing from the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in New Zealand to the Mission Office in Hatton Garden, London. This correspondence includes letters, reports on the progress of the work, and extracts from the Missionaries' private Journals. At present these documents are unpublished, and are classified only according to the year of their composition. The Methodist Magazines, a monthly publication dating from 1777, printed excerpts from Missionary letters and Journals for the benefit of the Missionary-minded public in Great Britain. This also is a primary source but of less importance.

Secondary sources are documents, the authors of which have had access to such materials as are classified as "primary sources", but which give only occasional extracts from them in the course of a much longer narrative. Such include the few biographies of the early Wesleyan Missionaries that have appeared in print, viz. those of the Revs. Samuel Leigh (32) and Nathaniel Turner, (35) and later histories, viz. "The History of Methodism in New Zealand" by Dr. William Morley. (27) "The Methodist Mission to New Zealand. Toil and Adversity at Whangaroa" (20) and "The Methodist Mission to New Zealand.

"First Years at Hokianga 1827-1836" (21) by the Rev. Dr. C. H. Laws, B.A., and "Marsden and the Missions. Prelude to Waitangi." by Eric Ramsden (39) which gives a full account of the visit of the Rev. Joseph Orton to New Zealand in the year 1833.

Related sources are those which, while not bearing directly upon the work of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, do give accounts of events which occurred in the locality of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission or of the Northland during the period under review. Such include the biographies of the Church of England Missionaries, e.g. "The Life of Henry Williams" by Hugh Carleton; (9) Journals of visitors, e.g. "New Zealand 1826-7" Olive Wright from D'Urville"; (12) various official documents, e.g. "Historical Records of New Zealand" edited by Robert McNab. (25)

The following method of procedure has been adopted. Part II presents a brief history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions at Whangaroa, Te Toke and Hokianga until 1834. This is done partly because the work of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission is comparatively unknown, but mainly to set the survey of Maori reactions to the secular activities of the Missionaries into their proper setting. The following short chapter on the Maori situation in Northland at the time of the arrival of the Wesleyan Missionaries gives a brief account of the social situation into which the Missionaries entered.

Part III, consisting of Chapters VI - XI inclusive,

reconstructs in some detail the Maori reaction to the four secular roles selected for the purpose of this work, and the Maori reaction to the Missionary as a European. In each of these chapters the relevant material has been gathered and dated according to its entry in the particular writer's Journal. These entries have then been arranged in chronological order to obtain the general psychological drift within the community. On this basis the developing Maori reaction to each Missionary role has been reconstructed. While these reconstructions are somewhat independent of one another, the number and the specificity of these reconstructions show at what points stress developed and at what points the Maori found acceptable status roles, and opportunities for satisfying his aspirations in the changing pattern of society.

Part IV consists of two chapters each of which gathers and classifies findings under relevant headings. Chapter XII classifies the types of stress to which both Maori and Missionary were subject, enumerates the ways in which Maori and Missionary reacted to those stresses, and lists factors operating in both Maori and Missionary which tended to sustain the unbalanced relationship between them and to make for a new harmony. Chapter XIII attempts to trace some of the ways in which the beliefs of both Maori and Missionary were modified by the distress their holders endured.

P A R T      I I

## CHAPTER IV

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSION IN NEW ZEALAND

1820 - 1836

In 1820 the Rev. Samuel Leigh appeared before the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London to plead for the commencement of a Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand. Faced with a debt of £10,000 the Committee was unable to authorize any further expense but recommended that Mr. Leigh should plead his cause before the 1820 Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion to be held in Liverpool. This he did and was authorized by that Conference to canvass the Wesleyan Circuits in the industrial towns and cities for goods which could be used as "trade" in a land where money was of no value. The response was sufficient to maintain the Mission for nearly five years.

Mr. Leigh was in London at the same time that Hongi and Wykato were in England with Mr. Kendal who had brought them there principally to enable Professor Lee to compile what was to become the first Grammar of the Maori language. In London, these two chiefs met Leigh to whom they attached themselves until his departure for New Zealand. Despite the inconvenience of sleeping on the floor with a savage, Leigh made the most of this circumstance knowing that his subsequent safety in New Zealand might depend upon the raising of Hongi's

spear. For the same reason the Wesleyan Missionary Committee made presents of kits of tools to Hongi and Wykato with additional presents for their wives. These kindnesses were not without effect for shortly after Leigh's arrival in New Zealand Hongi banished to the bush one of his warriors who threatened Mr. Leigh's life.

The Wesleyan Mission was to have been established in the Thames-Mercury Bay district, but owing to the disastrous war between Hongi and Hinaki this was impossible and Leigh turned his attention to the possibilities of Whangarei, although Hongi suggested he might establish the Mission at Oruru where Hongi's sister would give him protection. Eventually, after much delay in awaiting the arrival of the Rev. William White and possibly the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, the Mission party, consisting of the Rev. and Mrs. Leigh, the Rev. William White, Messrs. James Stack and Luke Wade together with the Rev. John Butler and Messrs. William Hall and James Shepherd of the Anglican Mission, set out from the Bay of Islands at noon on the 26th May in the "St. Michael" arriving off Whangarei Heads at daylight next morning. Exploration of the surrounding district was made, but being depopulated by war, the site was abandoned and sail set for Whangaroa. There they arrived on the 5th June at sunset and during the night the vessel was warped up into the harbour. The following day Messrs. Butler, Leigh, Hall, Shepherd and White manned the boat and explored the bays and inlets of this expansive land-

locked basin of water. Eventually it was decided not to settle with Te Pari, chief of the Ngati-Pou tribe, but at Kaeo among the Nga Huruhuru people some twenty miles up a fertile valley watered by a tidal stream navigable only at high tide. The chiefs of this place were three brothers, Te Pahi, Te Ara (George) and Nga Huruhuru. When stores were ashore and a welcome assured, the Anglican missionaries excepting James Shepherd, returned to their respective stations. With Mr. Shepherd's help the Wesleyan brethren felled timber in the damp forests, erected a store and dwelling and made some progress in the language.

After only six weeks in Whangaroa Mr. Leigh's health failed and Marsden, then on his fourth voyage to New Zealand, advised his removal to the Colony. With Marsden in the "Active" were reinforcements for the Wesleyan Mission, viz. the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, Mrs. Turner, their infant daughter and maid, and Mr. John Hobbs. With Marsden's help the purchase of seven acres of land was finalized and Leigh left Wesleydale (as the Mission Station was called) on 19th August, never again to return. The personnel of the Mission then was

Rev. Nathaniel Turner,	aged 30 years.
Rev. William White,	" 29 "
Mr. John Hobbs,	" 23 "
Mr. James Stack,	" 22 "
Mr. Luke Wade,	
Mrs. Turner, infant, and maid.	

Under great difficulties the Mission was established. Nearby settlements were contacted, the sick visited, slaves befriended and agriculture commenced. The Whangaroa natives

were thieving and insolent and more than once the Missionaries thought circumstances would compel them to abandon the venture. War was always imminent, and as the years passed the situation deteriorated. Hongi wanted to live among the Ngati Pou on the shores of the Whangaroa Harbour and demanded land to do so. Being refused, he came in force to take it. The Nga-Huruhuru were pressed into his service and the Mission Station left unprotected. On Tuesday, the 9th January 1827, a marauding band of Hongi's men arrived at the Mission and, after committing acts of depredation, left. The following day a larger company arrived and wholesale plunder and destruction took place. In fear of their lives the Missionaries fled at 6a.m. for Keri Keri where they arrived at 7 p.m. and remained until they left for Sydney in the "Brothers" on 27th January.

Reporting to the London Mission Office from Sydney the refugees clearly affirmed that "our Mission in New Zealand, though suspended, is by no means abandoned." At a meeting held on 3rd. August, 1827 it was decided to recommence work at Hokianga, and Captain Kent of the brig "Governor McQuarrie" was engaged to transport the Mission party and to provide on board suitable accommodation for three weeks until land accommodation could be arranged. The returning party consisted of the Rev. John and Mrs. Hobbs, Mr. and Mrs. Luke Wade and Miss Bedford. James Stack returned with Mr. Richard Davis of the Church Mission in the "Herald" arriving three weeks before the main party, who entered Hokianga Heads on the



31st October. 1827. Hobbs primary task was to find Patu One and in the succeeding weeks with him and several of the Church Missionaries who had come over at Hobbs Request, searched the district for a suitable site. Eventually Te Toke was settled upon. Hobbs thus records the transaction, and a description of the site. (40/14.12.27)

"We therefore paid him (Patuone) for a certain piece of land along the river from a small stream of water called the Arawata Kowai to two puriri trees standing close to the river bank. It is a strip about 120 fathoms wide bounded on the north-east side by the Arawata Kowai. The north-west side is bounded by the main stream of the Waihou and the other end by the flat topped hills which form a sort of base to the high hills of Toke. We drew up a sort of writing which was signed by Patu One who received the following articles as payment viz.

- 10 pairs of blankets.
- 10 felling axes.
- 10 hoes.
- 10 hatchets.
- 10 plane irons.
- 10 chisels.
- 10 shut knives.
- 10 small tooth combs.
- 10 files.
- 10 scissors. "

Soon, however, grave doubts about the suitability of the site were entertained by both Hobbs and Stack. The place more favoured was Mangungu, about a mile from Brown and Raine's establishment at Te Horeke. That situation was healthy, access was easy, the surrounding tribes numerous and the soil rich. Te Toke required much clearing of the bush, was subject to flooding, and the surrounding tribes were few. Hence it is

not surprising to read that on 28th January 1828 the Wesleyan Missionaries determined to purchase 850 acres at Mangungu for £190 worth of articles. And on 20th March at 4 p.m. James Stack records "we all moved down to Mangungu." (42)

At the British Wesleyan Conference of 1826 New Zealand and Tonga were constituted a District separate from New South Wales, the Rev. William White being appointed Chairman. Four years later the Friendly Islands were separated from New Zealand, the Rev. Nathaniel Turner being appointed Chairman of the Friendly Islands District and the Rev. William White continuing as Chairman of the New Zealand District. White, however did not assume his duties in New Zealand until he returned from England in 1830. In the meantime Hobbs, Stack and Luke Wade had spent two years in erecting the necessary buildings which the Rev. Dr. C.H. Laws describes as follows:-

".....when White arrived in 1830 and took charge of the Mission, there were two large dwelling-houses, one 45 by 15 feet, the other 31 by 12 feet, for occupation by White and Hobbs respectively; an outer kitchen 18 feet square; a building, 24 feet by 14 feet, originally designed as a school, but a separated portion of which was now Stack's private room; a barter store and carpenter's shop 18 feet square, with a loft; and rush house 24 by 12 feet for the native domestics; a store and loft for native provisions; a fowl house; a boat house 28 by 10 feet; a saw pit in which four pairs of sawyers could work at once; and a cultivated garden 40 paces by 40 paces, well fenced and having beyond it a considerable area of cleared ground and burnt off."  
(20)

In addition to this building programme Hobbs and Stack had

done educational and spiritual work at Mangamuka, Utakura and Mangataipa. White's policy aimed at developing Mangungu and extending Wesleyan influence southwards. This he was able to do through the arrival at Mangungu of the Rev. John Whiteley on the 30th May 1833, the arrival of the Rev. William Woon from Tonga in January 1834, and the arrival of the Rev. James Wallis on the 2nd. December of the same year. The Rev. and Mrs. John Hobbs left for Tonga in 1833.

In 1825 White had visited Waikato journeying overland from the Thames and penetrating as far inland as the source of the Horotiu. In 1834 White again journeyed into the Waikato to open Mission Stations at Ngaruawahia, Kawia and either at Honepaka or at Haurua. The way was prepared for him by a powerful chief named Tarawhati and at Mangapouri he left two competent native teachers named Elijah and Abel with teaching equipment and instructions to build a rush house in readiness for the advent of a Missionary. This action brought the Anglican and Wesleyan Missions into controversy and the relationship between the two was strained.

While White was establishing Mission stations in the Waikato, Whiteley visited the Kaipara area to make a survey prior to establishing a mission there. In his Journal he records that he set out on the Saturday, spent the Sabbath at the Heads, and after two days hard walking arrived at Kaihu, the principal village of the Kaipara where, although there had been no Missionary contact previously, a chapel was erected

and the natives performed European service as well as they were able. Apart from this Whiteley itinerated in the Mangape and Omanaia districts. He described travel in New Zealand in the following words:-

"This is a fine country; and the scenery is almost universally picturesque in no ordinary degree -- this however makes the difficulty in travelling to carry instruction to the scattered tribes of natives so much the greater. The high and almost perpendicular hills -- the grand and almost impenetrable forests -- the extensive and almost impassable swamps make travelling in New Zealand labour indeed. Often without coat, waistcoat, hat or handkerchief have I been bathed in perspiration as though dipped in a river." (45)

Later in the same year 1834 White set out with the Rev. and Mrs. Woon to establish a Mission at Kawia. There Mr. Woon laboured for several years until temporarily withdrawn in 1836.

Territorial extension went on with spiritual progress. At Hokianga the first years were devoid of perceptible spiritual growth, but Woon, who had visited that Station on his way to Tonga in 1830, noted a distinct improvement on his later arrival in New Zealand. The natives were eager for instruction in writing, reading and Bible knowledge. Church attendances were mounting. Whiteley records in his Journal that in 1833 the chapel had been enlarged to nearly double its former size and then was not more than half large enough. Since his arrival 50 adults had been baptized and about 90 were meeting in Class. And on Saturdays natives from as far as 40 miles distant came in upwards of 20 canoes to the

nearby beach and made preparations for the Sabbath's worship, instruction and fellowship.

White also sought to obtain the consent of the Europeans as well as of the natives on the River to banish the import of ardent spirits which were beginning to play havoc with the people. The Maoris were agreeable, but the Europeans were not, so the scheme came to nought. He also sought to protect the interests of the younger chiefs from the indiscriminate selling of tribal forests by their elders, an action which increasingly engrossed him in secular pursuits to the detriment of the Mission. This increasing secularization led to disharmony among the Missionaries themselves, and later to the visit of the Rev. Joseph Orton on behalf of the Missionary Committee in London. (30) To meet the situation Hobbs was transferred to the Tongan Mission, and White counselled about the organization of the Mission, paying more attention to educational matters and less diligence to business enterprises. To this advice White paid little heed. Further his character was being incriminatingly described, and the breach in filial affection between the agents was not healed. At last the Mission Committee in London directed the Rev. Nathaniel Turner to proceed to New Zealand to supersede his colleague in the Superintendency of the New Zealand Mission, and to conduct a thorough enquiry into the charges preferred against him. No record of the District Meeting of 28th July 1836 exists but there was no doubt as to the findings, for Mr. and Mrs. White

soon afterwards sailed for England via Sydney.

As a further part of his commission Turner sailed in the "Tui" with White as pilot to withdraw Whiteley who had gone to Kawia and Wallis who had been appointed to Waingarua. This was to avoid a clash with the Church Mission over the occupation of the Waikato. Whiteley went to Pakanae and Wallis became the first Wesleyan Missionary to the Kaipara. This ended the second phase of the development of the Wesleyan Mission.

## CHAPTER V

### THE MAORI SITUATION IN NORTHLAND AT THE TIME OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES.

Other European contacts had already begun to make inroads into the older, more or less stable Maori society before the arrival of the Wesleyan Missionaries in New Zealand. The annual fighting season was being prolonged and raids were conducted not against near neighbours, but against distant peoples. In 1819 one Ngapuhi expedition swept as far south as Port Nicholson, and some of the leaders crossed to the South Island. Such distant campaigns lead to a development of the institution of slavery, for in wars conducted against neighbouring tribes, prisoners could easily escape, to prevent which they were speedily slain, whereas captives from remote localities had little chance of escape and thus were allowed to live, like the butcher's stock, until required for consumption. Cannibalism was released from its older traditional restraints and was freely indulged in, while people working desperately for muskets with which to protect themselves, forsook their ancient hill fortresses for the damp swamps, where the flax grew in profusion, with disastrous results for their hygiene and health. New crops were introduced which required different planting times from those which they had brought with them from their homeland, and the ownership of land became a burning question. Previously held by the tribal commune

with individuals having rights to work certain areas, land was required by Europeans who wanted exclusive rights to its forests, streams and soil. "Before ships came, every place was common property. Before ships came, trees stood as common to anyone. Before ships came, flax stood and everyone took what he would and there was more than an abundance for everybody. But now the white people come and pitch upon this place and that. But who is to have the payment? It belongs to everybody." are the words of an old Maori recorded by John Hobbs. (40/24.12.27)

Of these changes the Maori people were painfully aware for many new ideas and modes of behaviour were pressing in upon the older pattern of society and approved behaviour, and where these intrusions were there was confusion and resultant change.

Yet when the Missionary arrived there were cross-currents other than these in the Maori world. Ships and war engrossed their whole attention. Indeed the former was regarded as a necessary means to the latter for ships brought articles of trade, especially muskets, as barter for the natural products of New Zealand and access to native women. Knowing the advantages of intercourse with European traders, whalers and sealers, the Maori people were not slow to encourage them to enter their harbours and engage in barter. So greatly were European manufactured articles prized that often the natives could not control their eagerness to possess them, and



committed numerous acts of depredation upon European persons and property. At the same time many chiefs feared that such acts would discourage European captains from putting into their harbours and Nene, brother of Patu One, summarily shot Mata Takahia for his principal share in the ravaging of the "Haweis" to warn his countrymen not to be so forward in plundering vessels and killing Europeans.

Perhaps the most violent of these acts was the burning of the "Boyd" and the massacring of her crew in 1809. So deep was the European abhorrence of this act that Marsden could not secure Government authority to establish his Mission at the Bay of Islands until 1814, and so sensitive was the Maori mind about the same event that as late as 1823 George, the Maori chief principally involved in perpetrating the atrocity was still scared by reports of European ships coming to Whangaroa in the summer to seek revenge, while Epuhi his brother would not board the vessel that transported the Leighs and their helpers to Whangaroa lest their invitation was part of some deep laid plot to bring him to justice in Port Jackson for his share in the tragedy.

Other currents also swirled in the sea of Maoridom. Hongi, armed with muskets, had returned from England in the June of 1821 and commenced his wars in November of the same year. This commenced a period of wars in which the flower of Maoridom fell before the onslaught of his armed hosts and large tracts of country were seriously depopulated. Muskets could only be defeated by muskets. Hence flax, timber, pigs, women -

anything that Europeans demanded - were given for muskets, for by muskets alone could they defend themselves and live. Europeans were at a premium for the trade which they brought with them, yet the more they settled in places other than the Bay of Islands, the more remote became Hongi's chances of ultimate dominion in New Zealand. For some years the principal fighting chiefs at the Bay of Islands had urged the destruction of the Whangaroa natives both as punishment for their spoilation of European shipping and to scare away resident Europeans.

Later Hongi desired to leave behind the place of so many of his domestic troubles and settle on the Whangaroa Harbour in a district belonging to the Ngati Pou. Being refused, he made preparations to take what he wanted. The natives about the Mission Station were pressed into his service. The station was left without protection, and in the confusion that followed was sacked by a marauding band of Hongi's own people.

Even after the re-establishment of the Mission on the Hokianga harbour at the request of Patu One, wars and rumours of war filled the months and years. But in 1828 Hongi died laughing at the wind whistling through the gaping wound he had received at Whangaroa, and almost from then the Mission work began to improve. Whereas in 1823 a musket could be sold for 100 baskets of kumeras, by 1830 muskets were being sold for blankets and the attendances at the Mission Sabbath day observances were steadily increasing. When the more immediate threats of war passed, the Maori gave his attention more fully to the missionary.

Through these tensions the Wesleyan Missionaries laboured bartering articles of European manufacture to obtain food and native labour, teaching old and young alike, healing the sick, striving for peace, and preaching the Gospel to any who would listen. They came as white men representing a large Christian communion in Great Britain, and to them the Maori people reacted as white men trading, as white men teaching, as white men healing, as white men making peace - the examination of which forms the residue and body of this thesis.

P A R T

III

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE INTER-CULTURAL PATTERN OF RELATIONSHIPS CALLED "PROTECTION"

Just as a chief might throw his cloak over a prisoner of war and thereby afford that person his protection, so a powerful tribe might "throw its cloak" over a smaller people and confer upon them the benefit of its protection. In return the dependent people were obliged to supply certain stipulated commodities, or to perform certain functions. It appears to the present writer that this situation was extended to the European traders and missionaries in the early days of European-Maori contacts, and on this somewhat precarious footing missionary work commenced among the Maori people.

There is an abundance of evidence to indicate that the Maori people regarded the Europeans as a "tribe". This is available in direct statements and in implications from their behaviour. To establish the former, a number of quotations from the missionaries' correspondence will suffice. "When over at the school, James (Stack) heard one of our chiefs telling the stranger that, when we first came, they tried all they could to make us afraid of them, but were not able to effect their purpose, for, said he, they are an Eve toa i.e. a courageous tribe." (43/20.10.24) When the missionaries were slow in answering the question whether the Europeans would avenge the Boyd, the native scornfully reproached them

"You are a forgetful tribe." (42/25.7.25) After the Mercury had been plundered the natives anxiously enquired "Did the vessel lately plundered belong to any person with whom you were connected? Does it belong to a tribe of King George? (40/10.9.25) Being slow to answer the question whether the missionaries did not fight at all, the missionaries were called "a tribe of old women". (43/5.2.28) Having returned from Oruru on a vain expedition to obtain pork, the Whangaroa chiefs said "You are a hasty tribe" (32 page 250) When the ship's company of the Mercury began trading on the Sabbath, Tepui enquired of the Missionaries "Do you know this tribe?.. Is this their sacred day? I know it is yours...See how they trade? They must be a mean tribe! " (32 page 263)

To establish the same point by the latter means, the following incidents which to the Europeans seemed completely irrational, but which were quite logical from the Maori standpoint, indicate that the Maori people regarded the Europeans as a tribe. After the Mercury had been ravaged, Kia Roa called at the Mission Station to say that some of the natives had manned one of the ship's boats and gone to the Bay to sell it. Fearing that some would lose their lives in attempting to dispose of a European boat to the Europeans from whom it had been taken, the missionaries expressed their fears for the safety of the natives, upon which Kia Roa replied "If they should die then yourselves

and the missionaries at the Bay must die as a satisfaction."

(32) George also regarded the plundering of the Europeans at his death as a satisfaction for his father's death in the Boyd.

The evidence from Marsden's Queries of the Settlers at the Bay of Islands, confirms the view.

"The natives consider the missionaries on shore, the owner of the vessel (Active), the captain, and the ships company as members of one body. They know that the vessel is navigable chiefly of their friends the missionaries, and feel themselves more interested in the missionary vessel than they would in any other...."

Thus it appears that, to the Maori, the European was a member of another tribe. It is equally obvious that when the Europeans were so few in number, they could only be regarded as a weak tribe which, however, was fortunate enough to possess a number of articles much coveted by the Maoris. To offer "protection" to this weak tribe became the obvious method of gaining access to the muskets, blankets, pots and hoes in its possession.

In his own whimsical way, F.E. Manning (24 page 169) describes the nature of this "protection" which his chief conferred upon him as a trading member of the European "tribe". He draws up the rights and duties of the chief thus:-

Rights: 1. In consequence of the chief having refused articles of European trade for the land Manning bought, Manning himself became regarded as the property of the chief who had sold him the land. The chief therefore had the right to refer to Manning as "His pakeha."

2. The chief had the privilege of being fed by

Manning whenever he so desired.

3. The chief made presents, expecting greater presents in return.
4. The pakeha was obliged to purchase all the chief had to sell whether or not he wanted it.
5. The chief had to be kept in tobacco.
6. All desirable work must be offered first to the chief's family, payment to be higher than for others.

- Duties:
1. To protect the pakeha from the general populace.
  2. To protect the pakeha from powerful marauders.
  3. To protect the pakeha from theft.

Such protection, though costly, was a necessity in a land where the power of the chief was the only law. How real the protection was depended almost solely upon the character of the chief concerned.

Now the Wesleyan missionaries, when at Whangaroa and at Hokianga, were certainly regarded by the people among whom they settled more as traders than as missionaries, (40/28.3.28; 42/10.2.28) and the situation in which Manning found himself can be paralleled almost section by section from the Journals of the missionaries. For example,

Section 1. Stack records in his Journal:

"I have perceived a spirit of self-importance attach itself to the natives of this place (Mangungu) for these two or three days past which confirms what Patu One said and causes me to think that the natives have thought we were to benefit solely them, to the exclusion of all others from any part in us. The conduct of the strange natives when compared with those in our immediate neighbourhood is strikingly different. Whilst they often forget to pay us common civility those pay us all that honour which they show to each other, which, considering their rude state, is not a little. This was strikingly



exhibited in the conduct of the Mangamuka natives to-day who when they were told they could not be paid as they had not brought a sufficient quantity of native produce as an equivalent for the European article they wanted, said "Oh, take these and eat them and bye and bye when I bring more you can pay me", though to my knowledge I had not seen any before." (42/28.3.28)

Section 2. One of the Missionaries records:

"The mean conduct of this man (Hudee Hudee) and Tipui his brother to get fed by us for some time past has been very trying. Indeed Tipui confessed the other day that he acted meanly in his dependence on us. He made use of the word Peo, a term the New Zealanders apply to get some food offered to them. It is considered by themselves a great piece of contempt when used by one New Zealander to another." (49/30.11.26)

No doubt Hudee Hudee and Tipui were so exasperated by being refused food that they resorted to this way of securing it. The position became so acute that the natives threatened to turn away the Missionaries' domestics if it continued. Likewise the self-assured manner in which the Chiefs sat themselves at the Missionaries' tables indicate that they took this as their right. (32)

Section 3. The present writer has found no record of this, but suggests that the Missionary attitude soon transformed the gift-counter gift mechanism of exchange. This will be dealt with in the next Chapter. The missionary bartered, and thought of the exchange of produce as barter, not as a gift and a counter gift.

So with Section 4.

Section 5. Tobacco did not come into common use among the Maori people until about the year 1827. (44/9.9.30) Therefore it is hardly relevant here.

Section 6. The natives resident with the Missionaries were quite often Chiefs' sons who from time to time disputed the payments given them and on occasion took steps to secure more. Duties.

Section 1. In Commissioner Bigge's inquiry the question was asked of Dr. Fairfowl "Did you observe that the natives treated the missionaries with respect?" His answer was "The chiefs did, but in their absence the lower classes frequently take advantage of them, and sometimes insult them." (25 page 556) Similarly the Wesleyan Missionaries from time to time had to appeal to the chiefs for protection from the populace.

Section 2. No instance of this is available. Wesleydale was sacked by marauders but this occurred when the protecting tribe had been impressed into Hongi's forces.

Section 3.

"Some Englishmen who live near us have lately had about sixty pounds worth of sawn timber destroyed by fire. Patu One suspects this chief to have done it. Last night we heard volleys of muskets fired off the cause of which I asked Patu One for he told me he had heard the establishment near us were being robbed and came immediately at that late hour of the night to their assistance. He said he should do the same for us. "Do you think" he said, "I should suffer you to be robbed quietly as you were at Wangaroa?"

In a number of other instances the Missionaries appealed to the native chiefs for protection from theft only to find that they themselves were implicated in the thefts. (40/18.4.29)

The picture of this Missionary-Chief relationship is by no means complete, but there are sufficient marked instances

of agreement between the Chief-Trader "protection" relationship as outlined by Manning, and the Chief-Missionary "protection" relationship reconstructed from the Missionary correspondence to draw the conclusion that these relationships are almost identical. What seems to have happened is that the missionary or trader who sought the "protection" of a chief was given "protection" in return for certain fairly clearly defined privileges in regard to his person and property. Further this relationship appears to be an extension of a recognised social mechanism whereby a strong tribe protected a weaker tribe in return for some material benefit.

Now while the Maori chief expected the Missionary to behave in the accepted manner in this "protection" situation, he soon found that the Missionary, whom he regarded as a trader, did not do so and had little intention of learning to do so. The Missionary did not understand all that the relationship meant to the Maori mind, and the Maori had not learnt to make any clear distinction between a missionary and a trader. Whereas the chief thought he was conferring upon the missionary the priceless benefit of his "protection" in return for the missionary's trade, the missionary considered that he was bestowing the inestimable benefits of the Gospel and European civilization upon a race of rude savages simply for their protection! The trader might submit to the demands of the chief and make his living by exploiting the

commonalty. He would probably become a "pakeha maori" in the course of his trading. But to the missionary both ideas were abhorrent. The problem for the Missionary was twofold (a) How could he retain the protection of the chief yet at the same time be independent of the chief? (b) How could he pursue his religious vocation as a missionary without being regarded as a trader? The problem was complicated in another way. Not only did Muriwai say "that if he is not benefitted by our property we shall not be benefitted by his protection", but also that "unless we are treated as you treat him (Patu One) we don't want to hear anything from you." i.e. No trade, no protection. No trade, no karakia either! This would strike at the very root of the missionaries' hopes, and also indicates that the European Gospel was heard and perhaps accepted on the basis of ready access to European trade.

There was nothing for it but for the missionary to cut the Gordian knot. It became apparent that the missionary must assert his independence if he was to cling to his property and European civilisation in the hope eventually of winning the native to his way of life and not himself become as one of them. Thus in the matter of trade and Mission property the missionaries determined upon their lines of conduct and were unmoved. "Several chiefs.....were unwilling to go without more presents, but we had made up our minds and were firm to our purpose" writes Turner (43/27.7.25) In the earlier stages of the mission these restrictions were

resented and cast aside. To enforce them the missionary had only his own strong arm if reason failed. The Maori respected courage and when he saw that his intimidation did not deflect the missionary from the standard of behaviour he expected from the Maori people, there was little that could be done.

Equally important in breaking this protector-protected pattern of relationships to which the missionary was expected to conform was the threat to leave that native settlement and go elsewhere where the missionary could not be so molested. Remembering the eagerness to obtain a trader alias a missionary which the Maori chiefs manifested, then for the missionary to leave would have been a great blow to that chief entailing loss of access to European articles of trade, loss of respectability which they gave to the place, as well as exposing the chief to the ridicule of his relatives for driving away the goose that laid the golden egg. Thus after Nathaniel Turner had recovered from his wounds, he reasoned with his assailant:

"I told him I was not afraid of his killing me, for I loved God and should go to heaven when I died and told him if he did not like me to live here, I would go to some other tribe, or back to Port Jackson, where I could live quietly, but no, I must stay here, and he would behave well." (43/27.11.23)

Threatening to leave produced similar effects in George (44/5.7.24) and Tipuhee. (42/2.4.25) Indeed it appears as the argument which carried most weight with the Chiefs concerned and contributed in large measure to the missionaries breaking down the overbearing attitude of the

chiefs in the protector situation and in establishing their independence to pursue a religious ministry. In reality it caught the native chief on the horns of a dilemma and occasioned much stress. Either the chief exercised his rights and lost his trade through the missionary's withdrawal, or the chief did not exercise his rights and receiver "trade" because the missionary remained. The chiefs decided upon the latter and thus while the missionary was welcomed for his "trade" and expected to enter into the "protection" relationship as outlined above, courage and the threat to leave with the consequent loss of trade, "respectability" and reputation materially altered this relationship in such a way that the missionary gained the independence of his person, and his rights over his land and property were recognised.

## CHAPTER VII

### MAORI MISSIONARY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE TRADING SITUATION.

Priority upon the articles of trade possessed by the European he protected, was one of the rights claimed by the old time Maori chief in return for the safety which his name afforded. Europeans were welcome for the "trade" which they brought with them, and early New Zealand literature abounds with anecdotes illustrating the unthinking manner in which valuable lands and forests were sometimes given away for an armful of trifling European factory-made articles. There are two main reasons to account for this. (a) European products, -especially weapons.- had a utility value superior to many native artifacts; (b) The possession of a European, or of articles of European trade, gave "respectability" to a place. (40/23.12.27) Thus the struggle for survival through the possessions of European weapons, and the imperious demands of the ego for "respectability" impelled the Maori to acquire European goods by regular or irregular means. In ancient Maoridom the regular means of acquiring an article from another person was gift exchange. The irregular means were theft, intimidation and artifice.

In traditional Maoridom every exchange of goods followed the pattern of gift and counter-gift rather than that pattern of exchange which we call barter. Essentially barter implies some agreement as to the rate of exchange - an idea

foreign to Maori thought. No stipulation was made as to the amount of goods that was expected in return for the gift made, and no haggling took place. Firth (13) quotes a statement made by Elsdon Best in a private letter:

"Barter however, is scarcely the right expression, it seems to imply a certain amount of arrangement as to values and so on. The Maori seems to have had an objection to making a definite bargain. The usual plan was to make a present, and by some means convey a hint of what was desired in return. But no article had a recognised set value, neither would the old time Maori bargain in such affairs. That is assuredly fact."

In dealings with visiting strangers, one article would sometimes be exchanged for another. That which was wanted in return was hinted at by the donor and thus inappropriate returns avoided. The social pressures of fear of deprivation of exchange in the future, fear of the loss of reputation, and fear of black magic ensured that counter gifts would be made. Thus in both of these situations the mode of exchange is the gift and counter gift mechanism which is basically similar to the Maori institution of "utu", more correctly translated "compensation" than "revenge", "payment" or "satisfaction". Firth summarizes the basic principle in Maori exchange of goods as follows:

"The general principle of Maori exchange was that for every gift another of at least equal value should be returned." (13 page 411)

Numerous examples of this mode of exchange of goods between Maori tribes are to be found in early New Zealand literature. (18 page 35)

However, by the early 1820's when the Wesleyan Mission



was established at Wesleydale, previous European contacts had broken down the prevalence of this gift-exchange mechanism. No longer did the donor hint at what was desired in exchange for his gift; he demanded what he wanted. From the beginning "George" made it plain that he wanted the missionaries to dwell at Whangaroa only if they would trade in muskets. Further the recognised equivalent for a hog was a musket, which fact deprived the missionaries of meat foods for several months on end. Now when there are stipulated conditions of exchange and a definitely understood system of values, then the old gift-exchange mechanism has broken down and a system of barter taken its place. The native was not long in learning the relative value of different articles nor in demanding his price. The missionary would "trade" only in approved commodities and only on what he deemed a reasonable price. Thus both Maori and European contributed to the breakdown of the traditional gift-exchange mechanism.

While the Maori (in the earlier years of the missionaries' residence in New Zealand at least) made little distinction between the Mission station and the various trading establishments on the River, the missionary made a very sharp distinction between his sacred activities and the secular pursuits of his fellow Europeans engaged in business in the same locality. Trading for profit was as anathema to missionary principles as trading in muskets. To the missionary "trading" was a painful necessity occasioned by the uselessness of money in a country

so primitive that the only way of acquiring food, timber and labour was by payment in kind. Such stores as they brought with them, and were from time to time provided with from Sydney or London, were expended on these ends. By regulation of a Conference the missionaries were forbidden to engage in trading for profit of any sort and were expressly prohibited from trading in muskets or warlike weapons of any kind. The missionary therefore was not a trader in the sense of being one who engaged in commerce to make profits or to earn a livelihood. His "trading" was simply to secure supplies of foodstuffs for his subsistence and raw materials to provide such facilities as were necessary for carrying on his work. To safeguard his allegiance to the Conference and his Christian conscience, the missionary had to lay down certain terms on which alone he considered he could consistently engage in this so called "trade". His conditions were:

1. He would trade only in commodities he approved of.
2. He would trade at his valuation of the articles submitted for his purchase.
3. He would trade with whom he liked.
4. He would trade only when he needed to, and that on week-days.

It has already been mentioned that the missionary was prohibited from trading in muskets. The usual articles of trade were blankets, hoes, felling axes, iron pots, army great coats, knives, fish-hooks etc. Failure to comply with the native demand for muskets precipitated a prolonged enforced

fast upon the missionaries and constantly subjected them to ridicule and contempt. Yet this very refusal to trade in muskets ultimately inspired in the native a confidence in the missionaries' pacific intentions and created a demand for his conciliatory services. Sometimes a chief would offer one of his women folk to a missionary. Such offers were refused. The use of tobacco as an article of trade caused a division of opinion among the missionaries, who refused to trade in it until the mind of the Mission Board in London was known.

(44/9.9.30) Traffic in ardent spirits likewise was anathema to the missionaries who endeavoured with the help of the native chiefs to regulate or prohibit its entrance to the Hokianga.

(20 page 22) These facts indicate that the Wesleyan missionary did trade only in such commodities of which he approved, and that his stubborn refusal to deal in warlike weapons of any kind constituted a major source of frustration to a people harassed by fear of war. Native disappointment was expressed in boycotting the supply of meat to the missionaries and in ridicule and contempt.

The missionary also insisted on his valuation of an article which was brought to him for purchase. His valuation was usually based on that prevailing in Sydney. This does not necessarily mean that he was ungenerous to the natives for in the first land purchase by the Wesleyan missionaries the price actually paid was double that asked for by the vendors. The title to this land was never questioned by the Land Commissioners

operating under the Treaty of Waitangi. There were numerous occasions however when differences of opinion arose about the value of objects presented for sale. Stack (42/28.3.28) noted that natives visiting the Mission station from other localities accepted missionary valuations while the local natives often disputed them. Why this should be so was to the missionaries something of an enigma, but to the local "protecting" natives was only to be expected. Other natives must pay the price of the pakeha's favours and accept his terms, but the "protecting" chiefly families at least expected not only a priority upon the trade of the "protected" pakeha but also trade at their valuation of it in return for the privilege and benefit of their protection. For the missionary to insist on his valuation of an article, to the "protecting" Maori appeared like a "breach of contract" - if the protection situation may be regarded as a contract - and quite justifiably roused his ire.

Further, the missionary reserved to himself the right to trade with whom he liked, which usually meant those who could or would supply his needs, and not necessarily with the "protecting" chief. If the chief offered articles which were not wanted they were refused and the chagrined chief had to accept the situation. What the "protecting" chiefs hoped to confine to themselves or at least control could not be thus restricted or confined.

Finally, for religious scruples, the missionary refused

both to trade upon the Sunday and to accept such goods as had been gathered on that day. (44/8.9.24) By teaching that sabbath desecration was obnoxious to the Almighty, and by gathering about the Sabbath all the associations of tapu (for the Sabbath was called the "ra tapu") not only was trading on the Sabbath stopped, but work in cultivations ceased, inter-tribal wars halted on that particular day of the week, and anything that had the appearance of work such as scraping potatoes, cutting firewood etc. was done on the previous day. The Biblical doctrine of the wrath of God as then understood was not unintelligible to the Maori mind. He himself was under the tapu of the gods and could appreciate men who were under the tapu of another God, while visiting mariners, who observed neither Maori tapu nor Christian sabbath, were regarded as a "mean tribe". (32 page 263) There can be little doubt but that the Maori people regarded the breaking of the "ra tapu" with the same superstitious dread that they attached to the breach of tapu in the culture of their birth, and this restriction upon trading was the only one that was accepted by the natives with little dispute.

In laying down these restrictions upon their trading activities, the missionaries became frustrating personages to the Maori people. By refusing to trade in muskets they thwarted a clamant need for self-protection and survival; by bartering goods at their valuation the missionary contributed to the breakdown of the gift-exchange mechanism and roused native anger; by trading with whom he would the missionary

contravened what the "protecting" chief deemed to be his rights. When such frustration continually occurred native reprisals soon followed.

The most natural reaction was direct aggression against the persons or property of the missionaries. Sometimes fences were broken down, buildings threatened with fire, the missionaries severely manhandled.

Another method of reprisal was that of withdrawal from association with the Europeans by means of a boycott. The boycott placed on meat foods when the missionaries refused to trade in muskets is an example already quoted. More serious from the viewpoint of the ultimate success of the mission was Muriwai's attitude evoked by jealousy arising from payments for land.

"Referring to the payments given a few days ago for the land, one of them said "Carry your worship to the person to whom you give your other good things, We have an evil spirit within us and unless we are treated as you treat him we don't want to hear anything more from you.....They all seemed to be in a dissatisfied frame of mind and some of them were distant and sulky....He (Muriwai) has more than once intimated that if he is not benefited by our property we shall not be benefited by his protection." (40/23.12.27)

Carried out, this attitude was an ultimatum which could have terminated the very existence of the Mission. Fortunately these threats to withdraw from associations with the Europeans came to nought of a serious nature.

Sometimes the natives resorted to intimidation. By ridicule and threats of violence they sought to obtain their

own way. He who could press his views to the point of acceptance by a group of his fellow tribesmen occupied a position of prominence among his own people.

"The reason why Muriwai is most respected is not because he has any hereditary right to be, but because, as the natives say, he understands how to be angry so as to make the people listen to him when they disagree, or when anything is about to be done which he as a man of age and experience thinks ought not to be done." (40/20.11.27)

The full force of this mode of gaining one's own way was turned upon the missionaries. Thus Te Papatahi and Wai-iti, boasting that they were well known for their anger and always succeeded in gaining the object of their wishes, demanded what they wanted, abused the missionaries, and at length threatened to rob them if the missionaries did not surrender to their wishes! (40/10.11.27) Warekau so far forgot himself as to go into the Mission yard and order his people to launch the missionary canoe, which the missionaries refused to allow, upon which he put on as fierce a countenance as he could "in order to intimidate us" (42/3.5.28) and once, when the men were away, some of the chiefs visited the mission in order to frighten something out of the women! From the beginning the missionaries refused to give way knowing that if they yielded to the demands of one there would be no end to the demands. The immediate result was often animosity; the end result reconciliation. Six days after Te Papatahi and Wai-iti insolently demanded something from the missionaries, Te Papatahi returned wishing to be reconciled. As proof of his genuine desire for

reconciliation he offered a mat. The missionaries reciprocated with a hoe. (40/16.11.27) Turner likewise records the interview he had with his would-be murderer as follows:

"This morning the chief who used me so ill a few days ago sent one of his boys for me to come and see him. He wanted me to come and make friends with him. I immediately went, and he appeared glad to see me. I saluted him in their own way by rubbing noses, and afterwards sat down close by him, but was some time before I said much to him. We afterwards spoke freely, and he was evidently much affected and said he would never be so angry with me again. I told him I was not afraid of his killing me, for I loved God and should go to Heaven when I died, and told him that if he did not like me to live here, I would go to some other tribe, or back to Port Jackson, where I could live quietly but No, I must stay here, and he would behave well."

(43/27.11.23)

In such transactions there is an obvious struggle for dominance in which the Maori learnt the tenacity of the missionary's views on private ownership, his stubborn determination to trade with whom he liked, the inefficacy of intimidation turned upon men fortified with the conviction that Heaven was their eternal home, and the extent of his own loss should the missionary remove to another tribe to pursue his calling unmolested.

When fear of violence failed to make the missionary yield up his wares to the demands of the natives, theft was occasionally resorted to. Practised against the members of another tribe, theft was legitimate to the old time Maori, but when employed against members of his own tribe was harshly punished, the penalty varying according to the tribal status



of the offender. Firth (13) records instances of compensation in kind being exacted from the offender, but in the missionary correspondence it is plain that for low born people or slaves the usual punishment was violent death. It also appears that certain people were known as great thieves. (40/12.4.25)

If theft from another tribe was permissible then theft from the missionaries, who were regarded as another tribe, would be legitimate. But in view of the fact that the missionaries were viewed as a "protected" tribe, then it is most probable that they would be regarded as part of the "in-group" and officially immune from being open to theft. Certainly some of the chiefs who offered protection to the missionaries regarded it as their duty to protect their European dependents from thieves. Others, however, were not only instigators of thieves but also the ultimate recipients of the goods stolen by them. (42/12.4.25) The position seems to have been that the protected Europeans were regarded as exempt from the number of those who could be stolen from with impunity, and that better class chiefs regarded Europeans as their especial care in this respect.

Nevertheless, in-land their stores at Whangaroa a number of articles went astray, and the chief openly said "If we begin to steal so soon the white people will not come to live among us." (44/13.6.23) Anything from bolts of print to sail canvas, from grindstone handles to fat hogs went astray. If the discovered culprit was a man of rank, he would often blame his innocent slave. (42/17.7.29) And, should a thief be threatened

with the burning of his house or the destruction of his cultivation if stolen goods were not returned, the offender would bring them to the missionary saying that he had found them and would like "utu"! Only constant vigilance and the justice that was as wise as a serpent was sufficient to cope with the cunning of native avarice. Fortunately in a slave named Hika, the missionaries had a servant who knew the native tricks and had a sincere regard for their welfare. Through him many thieves were foiled. (43/2.7.25)

Thus against the will of the chief who considered himself bound to protect the missionaries from theft, many tribesmen resorted to this means of acquiring European goods. Native avarice and missionaries' regulations concerning trade, (which entailed a slow release of European goods for circulation among the native peoples,) may well have been the principal factors in leading many a native to resort to theft to acquire more hastily what he wanted from the missionaries.

The final mode of obtaining European goods from the missionaries is listed as artifice. Stack records (42/4.2.28)

"The natives minds were much excited in consequence of a slave of Patu Ones having been beaten by a white man today. Patu One's son asked why he did not so act as to induce the white man to kill him and that if he had done so they would have fought with all the native white people to obtain satisfaction."

This is not theft, but the seeking of a pretext upon which demands for European goods as "utu" could be based. Perhaps it gives an indication of the extent to which the acquisition of European goods was in the mind of the natives, and,

bearing in mind Muriwai's saying that European goods gave "respectability" to a place, one of the dominant motives for the acquisition of European goods is made plain.

Into the "protection" situation then, the European missionary was welcomed largely for the "trade" which he possessed and of which the Maori was eager to dispossess him. But this "trader" would trade only on certain terms, some of which violated the usual pattern of the "protection" relationship, and thwarted certain Maori rights involved in that relationship. To these frustrations the Maori reacted with violence, intimidation, withdrawal, theft and guile. These means of obtaining European "trade" give an index of the value placed upon the possession of European goods, not for their intrinsic value but for their survival or ego values, which induced an increasing identification of the Maori with peripheral elements of the European material culture. Desired for his "trade" and disliked for his restrictions, prohibitions and violations of the "protection" situation, the missionaries induced an ambivalence in the Maori attitude towards himself. Other factors with these determined which way the natives about the Mission stations would finally react.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### MAORI-MISSIONARY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE SCHOOLS.

Maori education aimed at fitting the child for the main roles of Maori society, at the same time providing a means for a gifted person to become an expert in his particular field. At birth children were dedicated to either Tu or Rongo the patron dieties of war and agriculture respectively, and from them derived such qualities as enabled them to fight or to cultivate the soil. These qualities were brought out through the instruction given in the course of their education.

Until puberty children were generally under the care of their grand-parents or grand-uncles thus leaving their parents free for the hard manual work of the tribe. Great care was taken to teach the children to speak correctly, to know their manners, the parts of their bodies, the power of tapu, the motions, words and cadences of the dances, and anything else in which those caring for the children were particularly interested. This instruction, while careful, was largely incidental.

At puberty children assumed native clothing and came more particularly under the spell of the orators and the more immediate care of their parents whom they helped in those occupations necessary for the welfare of the tribe. Under

his father a boy learnt to build, to fish, to fowl, to cultivate crops; under her mother a girl learnt to make mats, and baskets, to weave, to prepare food for eating. Here instruction was much more specific. From the orators, the youth learnt the tribal genealogies and found himself in a honourable line of descent from one of the canoes of the great migration; he heard of his people's military record, of their victories, their defeats and how they were avenged, and of those still to be avenged. He learnt how to speak and to take a delight in both listening and utterance. At this stage also the youth was expected to attain to a certain degree of proficiency, and should he reveal an aptitude for some skilled role, then he may be "apprenticed" to a tohunga and become a specialist himself. Certain selected youths might enter the whare wanaga and there eat of the three baskets of knowledge given by Tane to man, viz. high class sacerdotal lore and ritual; evil things, black magic, war and things harmful to man; human affection, sympathy, peace and the acts of peace.

It is thus clear that Maori education during the early years of life was ~~largely~~ incidental and opportunist, but as the child grew to manhood, it gradually became more specific and finally might afford high status in specialized roles for the able person. Throughout there was no attempt made to break the spirit of the child. Rather in those destined to be warriors the spirited behaviour that would make for daring, confidence and agility was applauded

and encouraged. Under the benevolent eye of their elders, children were free to do much as the spirit moved them, as long as they did not break tapu.

This was not the Missionaries' views of educating children and some of the qualities which they saw so prominent in the native personality were considered to be abominations in the sight of God! They believed that the great differences in material and spiritual culture between the Maori and the European was ultimately due to the influence of the Bible in European life and thought, and that through the Bible Maoridom could be elevated to a noble position among the nations of the earth. With this belief in their minds and the general willingness of Maori parents to commit their children to them for instruction, the Wesleyan missionaries began their educational programme. This phase of their work passed through three stages, viz. what the writer classifies as the interim, ideal, and expediency stages.

The interim stage was that in which, through lack of proper buildings, instruction was given to occasional courses of children and adults in the open air. Turner (43/19.1.24) describes this approach in a letter to the Mission office.

".....all things considered we have been pursuing the best plan we could have done for a while at the first, in collecting them together out of doors and there teaching them letters, catechisms, prayers, hymns etc. nor have our feeble efforts been altogether fruitless. Many of the children

can answer most of the questions in Kendall's grammar with tolerable ease, but they are extremely wild and untowardly and often call our patience and forbearance into exercise yet they discover a capability of learning anything that may be taught them."

Under such distracting conditions few scholars could concentrate but Turner's words "extremely wild and untowardly" are strong for behaviour caused by those conditions alone. Nevertheless the work was not void of results and White records that on July 22, 1823 the boys and girls repeated the Lord's Prayer "pretty well", though it was treated more as a native karakia than as a prayer.

The ideal stage was that regarded by the missionaries as best adapted to transform the young heathen into young Christians. Turner (43/27.12.25) describes it as follows:-

"The principal source of encouragement we have is in the rising generation. We think the most effectual way of doing them good and preparing them to be useful to their countrymen is to take them altogether out of their native condition and connect them with us."

The number of scholars thus associated with the missionaries averaged 11 in 1825, and 14 in the following year. Subjects taught were "letters" as basic for reading and writing, catechism, singing and music in European style.

The school day was planned throughout. There were morning and evening religious exercises, morning instruction, sundry work on the Mission station, cultivations to be tended, and in the evenings catechetical and Biblical instruction. For the latter the natives evinced a strong desire. It was

a disciplined life and while the entrancing description of the Church Mission Station's orderliness and beauty given by Mr, Harold Miller (26 page 16) may be correct, the native response to the discipline which made the harmony and created the beauty was such that before long the missionaries at Wesleydale were despairing of ever doing any good through the schools.

"The native schools have not been attended by me as it is found on our present plan unlikely to do any good, Our children in the house have made a little progress in letters but their conduct has been most trying and was it not likely that their remaining with us will do themselves good it would have been judged necessary to have turned some of them away for their bad conduct." (42/31.1.25)

The unruliness of the native scholars reached such a state that on the 30th December 1826 the school was re-organized on a new principle. In this, the expediency stage, the scholars lived out but attended the school for two hours in the morning, afterwards received rice or some other refreshment, and returned home. On the first morning 18 scholars attended. The "new principle" was allegedly that Christianity and education should spread simultaneously. This happened despite the supposed new "principle" involved. The real issue was the difficulty in maintaining discipline among the scholars.

When the school was re-established at Mangungu, the "ideal" principle seems to have been adopted, but the initial vision of evangelizing the natives through the schools faded when White assumed the Superintendency of the Mission, and the emphasis was more heavily upon what might be called "trade training" for twenty of the thirty-four scholars at Mangungu.



were sawyers. Nevertheless there was an increasing native interest in educational matters. In 1830 there were 34 scholars at Mangungu (28 boys and 6 girls). Two years later there were 30 at Mangungu (20 of whom were native sawyers) 30 at Mangamuka, 25 at Waihou, 15 at Motiti. The natives were building their own chapel-schools which were visited two days per week by the missionaries and in their absence the natives taught each other to read and write; a slate and seven pencils could have fetched 3 baskets of potatoes; and a book consisting of 22 chapters of the Bible, two catechisms, the Liturgy and 19 hymns could have been sold for 5 bushels of potatoes. Unfortunately there were not sufficient slates, pencils and books available for other than school needs.

In spite of this growing demand for education, problems arose in profusion. There was always a paucity of female scholars which is accounted for partly by the fact that no girl who had been on shipboard was allowed in the school, and partly because girls could obtain European artifacts more easily on shipboard than on the mission station. Te Tao-tahi left through homesickness. (40/11.4.24) Another left after being visited by her father and later returned to fetch away her friend. (40/11.2.29) Shari was given in marriage to a twelve year old boy and her parents and relatives refused to allow her to remain on the station in spite of her wishes. (43/21.8.25) Taro and his wife were turned away for her repeated thefts and lying, (40/7.3.29, 2.5.29, 29.8.29) and

she prevailed upon all but one of the female domestics to accompany her. The sick were told that they were bewitched (42/26.9.29) Freeborn scholars showed no sympathy or sorrow at the loss of a slave fellow student. (42/3.10.29) Valuable slaves were turned away because of the unruliness of their owner's child. "Simply telling a girl when she was doing anything wrong.....often caused her to put on an impudent air and say "Well, I'll go home." (42/5.9.29) Indeed Stack once concluded that the female domestics set no value upon living with the missionaries as compared with living at home "clothed in rags, covered in lice at the native place and having no certain meal hour unless she seeks it in the field by hard labour or wades in mud in the river looking for shell fish." (42/5.9.29) Again and again Turner, Stack and Hobbs describe the young people as "very untowardly and trying" (43/7.8.25) "insolent" (40/14.3.29) "very disobedient" (43/7.1.26, 49/11.5.29) and of "bad conduct and inattention". (42/21.10.29) Of one lad seeking admission to the school Stack had to enquire of his father whether the lad would behave himself. (42/30.1.28) White gave it as his opinion that

"until the natives embrace Christianity they generally occasion us more anxiety, care and trouble than their labour is worth." (44)

To obtain discipline, the missionaries used corporal punishment, expulsion from the school and depriving the scholars of some useful facility.

To punish theft, Takka who had witnessed whippings in Port Jackson, was invited to whip the offender. After careful explanation of the purpose of the whipping, and consultation with other chiefs, Takka consented to administer the punishment for which he was paid one hatchet. (43/9.8.26) Likewise Hika, who had a niece living with the Hobbs' household, corrected her with a good sized rod for her very bad conduct and inattention. Stack notes how contrary this is to Maori custom. (42/21.10.29)

Noticing the better discipline which the Church missionaries obtained from their scholars, Turner and his colleagues resolved "either to have obedience or send them home." (43/11.3.26) This was done.

Neither of the above disciplinary methods had any lasting beneficial results, but the deprivation of a meal, or of some useful facility touched a need and proved effective. Stack writes:

"The only means of punishment for neglect of duty which we find it expedient to exercise over our domesticks is to waka tiki them, that is deprive them of one of the meals, but like the unbridled horse they kick at it much..." (42/7.8.28)

As a result of this type of punishment Hongi, Potini and Te Tau left the station, but it was successful in fostering greater care of mission property such as saws, iron pots etc. To regress to the native mode of cooking or felling timber was a great hardship when inflicted as punishment for negligence or disobedience.

In spite of the attempt to isolate the scholars from their native communities, and in spite of the disciplinary action that was taken by the missionaries, there is no doubt that during this period maintaining discipline in the schools was the major problem confronting the missionaries in their educational activities. In fact the question arises whether the imposition of these restrictions did not accentuate the native mode of behaviour. Being brought up to roam from parent to grandparent in the village, suffering few frustrations, certainly not broken in spirit but taught to be offended at insults, they can only have viewed the "ideal" missionary method of educating them into Christianity as frustration from sunrise to sunset. Disciplined by hours of rising from sleep and retiring to rest, by set hours for prayers and meals and lessons and work on the Station and in the cultivation, enclosed by fences and shut in by doors, punished by a beating, expulsion or deprivation of a meal or useful facility for disobedience or inattention, the native must have seen some aspects of Mission school life as most restrictive. No wonder some rebelled, some withdrew from the school or considered expulsion no hardship, and only a few endured!

In coping with the missionaries' discipline there were some few individuals who adopted the European mode of dealing with the unruliness. Takka consented to whip a lad for theft. He probably thought that was light punishment, for

the usual punishment was death, especially if the offender was a slave. But the point is that he did identify himself with this European method of punishment for which George had compassed the destruction of the Boyd. Hika took the rod to his niece. Of him it is known that he preferred European ways and methods and was loth to leave Port Jackson with the Mission band returning to re-establish the Wesleyan Mission at Mangungu. These two men at least had effected some kind of identification with aspects of the European culture which were opposed to their own, and in the eyes of a discerning missionary may have been straws in the breeze to indicate which way the wind was blowing. In spite of the general unruliness resulting in part from the restrictive discipline of the Mission school, there were occasional incidents which indicated that tentative and sporadic identifications of certain individual Maoris with some part of the European non-material culture were taking place.

It was not through mere discipline however that the missionaries hoped to effect a change in native life and thought but through the content of their teaching.

Missionary education was designed to promote the living of the Christian life by the native people. Therefore, on the scholastic side, reading, and to a less extent writing, catechism, Biblical knowledge and elementary theology were the subjects of primary importance. Reading was more important than writing because it was through the reading of the Bible

and the application of its laws to Maori 1 that the Maori would become like the missionary and European in material and spiritual culture. From the first, when this approach was made to the Maoris, they "evinced a strong desire to understand its (the Bible) sacred contents, and said their children should all learn to read." (43/9.11.24) In spite of the many interruptions in their education, a number learnt to do so. White's account of the Public Examination held at Christmas 1832 revealed that by then 100 knew the Catechism so as to answer all the questions almost word perfectly, about 50 could read and write a little and about 9 or 10 could read the New Testament without spelling a word. (44/25.7.33) In the same year Hobbs records in his Journal:

"For this long period past it has become fashionable for young men to learn to read, and such is the manner in which they teach one another, that many of them who have never lived on any of the Mission stations, can read the translated portions of the Scriptures well. And though no doubt there is a great deal of pride and vanity among them in their teaching and learning we are authorised to believe that some of them are seeking the salvation of their souls." (40/24.1.33)

As reading ability increased the demand for books grew and pigs weighing from 50 - 100 lbs. were offered in payment for available translations. A man who could read and write, and perhaps do a little arithmetic was most useful to the missionaries and through leading in public worship, teaching in the school or leading a class acquired status in the missionary organization, as well as among his less accomplished fellow countrymen. Thus to the native, scholastic accomplishment

was the means of attaining his aspiration of equality with the pakeha and he would be practically assured of a status role in the changing cultural organization.

As a result of missionary instruction the native scholars became more critical of traditional Maori belief and practice. The Mission boys were "disposed to ridicule" Takka for shooting a pigeon and hanging it to a tree as an offering to the departed spirit of his father. (44/17.9.33) An old woman who claimed to be inspired by the departed spirit of Kimo was ridiculed by Mission scholars for her displays of inspiration. (43/9.10.25) Kiko and Hongi were bold enough to disbelieve that the whistling often heard from a house gable was that of a god, and that talking canoes were subtle deceptions of the priests. (40/10.10.25) As they became more and more critical of their old beliefs they identified themselves more and more with missionary beliefs.

Parallel with the growing criticism of the old beliefs was a growing modesty among the Mission girls. Not only the missionaries but also the Mission scholars were quite disgusted with the expressions that were made by way of Kuki. (42/11.3.39) Turner also, writing to the Mission Office says:

"It is certainly most distressing that these girls who are growing in modesty above the other females of the country should be without something which will render them more comfortable than the native females are in general." (43/23.10.25)

In Maoridom it was considered quite humbling for a woman to be seen naked by a man (8) so that modesty was not absent in

Maoridom. But the degree of modesty current would still make the 19th century missionary regard them as immodest. That the Maori girls did become self-conscious of their largely exposed bodies especially when about their work, indicates that the missionary approach to clothing and sex had carried some weight with them. They were moving towards an acceptance of European clothing from the largely acquired bodily self-consciousness induced by missionary contacts.

From living with Europeans, much incidental knowledge was also acquired. Incidental knowledge applies to extra-curricula learning, including such things as knowing one's birthday, (42/3.10.25) killing and dressing a pig in European fashion, (40/5.10.25) sawing timber (44) etc. While the missionaries were instructed to teach the natives such useful arts as they themselves had acquired, these arts served the subsidiary purpose of living in the land rather than of helping to spread the Gospel. However, there must have been much useful knowledge acquired by the natives in the course of several years residence on a Mission Station that finds no mention in Missionary Journals. The material available under this heading is very limited and hardly warrants any conclusions being drawn from it, except to note that he who chastised his niece for inattention, was also he who first killed and dressed a pig in European manner which indicates that in him there was a growing adoption of European methods.

The attitude of the parents of the native scholars has



already been stated. They were most desirous of their children learning to read the Bible, and thus attain status in the European culture. But when strange natives first heard the Mission school children sing in the European fashion their comment was "Ka pakeha tea ratu - they are all turned European." (44/1.8.24) It seems probable then, that the natives tended to regard the Maori scholars in the Mission school as associated in some way with the Europeans, as it were, in one tribe, otherwise "the alarm expressed by them at the threatening language made use of to them because we (the missionaries) did not keep open house to all who pass by" seems inexplicable.

Within the school then the missionary ideal of behaviour impinged upon previous native training. Many of the rules were frustrating and undoubtedly led to wildness and unruliness. Corporal punishment and expulsion had little effect whereas deprivation of food or some prized European facility was much more telling. The reaction was either belligerency, withdrawal from the school or the acceptance of the rule. Scholastic emphasis was upon the reading of the Bible. This became fashionable and provided a means by which native youths could gain the approval of, and acceptability with the European missionaries. Scholars, like their missionary teachers, became critical of native belief and practice, the more so as they became more identified with certain aspects of European culture. The acquirement by the natives of certain European arts and skill tended to associate the missionary and the

native scholars as one "tribe" in the eyes of strange natives who regarded them as "All turned European." Thus it appears that the most powerful psychological factors operating in the Mission schools were frustration leading to the unruliness of which the missionaries so often complained, and identification whereby some of the natives so identified themselves with aspects of European culture that they were regarded as "turned European." This latter factor directed towards the European God, became faith and would bring in the glad day of the conversion of the heathen for which the missionaries worked and taught. But that line of enquiry lies outside the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless the Maori identification of himself with certain peripheral aspects of European culture indicated that once the need of "conversion" was realized, he was not beyond redemption.

"Coughs and colds are generally prevalent again but more especially amongst those natives who are working for the neighbouring establishment up the river at Waihou dragging ships timbers out of the woods into the river where they are exposed to constant wet and piercing cold air. We have now four poor fellows here sick in consequence of it whom we found perishing at the Horeke. The poor natives are as ignorant of their bodies as they are of their souls and act towards them as if they were made of iron. Care for the body is quite as hard to impress their minds with when any self denial is required as care for the soul, and they are so foolish and superstitious that whenever disease attacks them as the natural result of violent exposure etc. they universally attribute it to some supernatural cause."

James Stack's Journal.  
8th August. 1829.

## CHAPTER IX

MAORI-MISSIONARY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE  
MEDICAL SITUATION.

To the Maori all sickness was of supernatural causation being the result of attacks by malignant spirits. Of these there were two classes (a) what Elsdon Best calls caco demons, and (b) familiar spirits. The caco demons were the spirits of abortions and miscarriages, and sometimes even of menstrual discharge, whose "aria" or incarnation was an animal, bird or fish. In the early missionary correspondence it is a lizard. These caco demons were usually associated with the families which provided their means of origin. Familiar spirits, on the other hand, were conjured up from the dead by sorcerers as agents for carrying out their evil machinations.

The precipitating cause of an illness was usually a breach of tapu wittingly or unwittingly performed. Often when a place was made sacred or prohibited, the interested persons located a demon there to attack any intruder - much in the same way as we keep a dog to attack trespassers. Henceforth not even relatives could approach that place without first removing the tapu. Thus the striking agent of the tapu was a caco demon.

Sorcery was the second cause of sickness, and natives claimed to be able to distinguish between death caused by natural means and death induced by the sorcerer's art.

To avert the evil influences that were ready to attack

the individual in the course of the day's activities simple karakia were learnt in childhood, but for breaches of tapu and the resultant sickness there was nothing for it but to consult the specialist, the "tohunga rongoa."

"The priest being sent for he is asked by the sick person Whence is my sickness? What trespass have I committed? Have I touched any persons head? Have I eaten any forbidden thing? Or is the atua or god eating me? (sorcery) To some of these the priest would answer in the affirmative and lyingly assert he saw the person do that which he had never beheld. The poor afflicted creature next enquires Shall I die? or shall I recover?"  
(42/28.7.25)

This procedure was to locate the particular caco-demon by finding out what places had been visited where tapus may have been infringed. If this failed to yield clues as to the identity of the family caco demon invading the sufferer, then he was asked to relate dreams. If these or delirium failed to supply the necessary information then relatives were asked to dream and to relate them to the tohunga for the same purpose.

Once the caco demon was located the priest attempted to exorcise it. If it belonged to another family then most probably it would refuse to depart until called off by its master. When this was done and the patient had rested, the next step was to remove the defilement occasioned by the breach of tapu by immersion in the village "wai tapu." This cleansed the sufferer and promoted recovery.

The only way to counter sorcery was by the employment

of a powerful chief who, by the use of more potent spells, turned the malignant spirit back upon the sorcerer. Once launched in sorcery, the malignant spirit must kill. If the sorcerer succeeded his victim died. If the attendant priest succeeded, the sorcerer died.

Failure to recover from a sickness could be readily explained by a combination of the above two means of treatment. Matangi provides an example:

"Matangi said a nephew of his was sick and the tohunga was sent for to cure him, but another tohunga was so displeased that he was not sent for, that he by his power, destroyed all the good the other did, and killed the man."

(42/23.6.28)

Thus the traditional Maori ideas concerning sickness are fairly clear. Sickness was always of supernatural causation. It was not always malevolent, but of the gods it was. Its agent was a lizard or some other "aria" which tore at the vitals of the sufferer and which could only be expelled by the expert treatment of a tohunga outlined above.

Now when Samuel Leigh fell ill at Wesleydale, Whangaroa, in 1823, he attributed his complaint to a recurrence of the debility which necessitated his forsaking the Australian work. But as would be expected, the Maoris accounted for his illness in their own way. Their view is succinctly recorded by White.

"In coming up the river in our boat today, our boys told us that Te Atua nue no New Zealand" (The great God of New Zealand) was angry with Mr. Leigh, and that was the cause of his being ill. I asked, "Why?" "For pulling down Te

Whare taboo" alluding to the remains of an old hut which stood on the land we now occupy and for which we gave two axes." (44/4.7.34)

Leigh had broken a native tapu and therefore was being assailed by the malignant spirit. This conviction was confirmed in the minds of the natives when, during one afternoon, a lizard was caught in the very tent where Leigh resided! The natives hailed this as proof positive that Mr. Leigh was being eaten by a malignant spirit and bye and bye would die.

Not being experts in medicine the missionaries often failed to cure the sufferer, which tended to reinforce the Maori belief in their own view of causation. Matangi said:-

... was clear that the European remedies had no power in Maoridom and could not dispossess the atua or spirit to whose occupancy of the boy, they attributed his illness." (35 page 58)

Stack likewise says:-

"They pour contempt on us for the inefficacy of our attempts to the sick because a slave has just died whom he blistered some time ago. Kari said a native had been lately cured by the New Zealand karakia." (42/15.6.28)

However, the situation did not remain so simple for very long. Even while the natives clung to their traditional beliefs and practices, new and disturbing facts were confronting them. Some of the missionaries' primitive attempts at healing were successful and occasioned much surprise. Two may be mentioned.

"Muriwai's principal wife brought her sick daughter Teuaroa to the missionaries in a high fever. The missionaries gave her medicine and in three hours she was "so materially altered for the better that her mother was astonished beyond measure." (42/4.4.28)

The second is noteworthy because it illustrates the origin of much native sickness and records the curing of neurotic feverishness by material means.

"One of our boys, having been engaged in removing a shed yesterday which was attached to the hut in which Toa lived while he was here sick, was shortly after seized with a headache. His fears were instantly alive and he gave himself up to them. He was sure it was for touching the tapu house that he was ill and he should actually die but a good dose of medicine having removed the feverish state of his body, his countenance assumed the most cheerful aspect, whereas yesterday he was the prey of gloomy melancholy and foreboding fears." (42/17.9.28)

When such cures were effected after native techniques had failed the question, as voiced by Rangi, was asked.

"Rangi who has lately been ill and benefited by our medicine wished to know what sort of atua this was upon which his karakia had no effect and which our medicine so speedily removed." (42/21.6.28)

Now it is natural to suppose that as the native believed that Maori illnesses were caused by the intrusion into the body of caco demons which could only be expelled through the primitive psycho-analysis of the tohunga rongoa, so he conversely assumed that because the European "tohunga rongoa" could cure sickness, he also had power over a malignant caco demon. This assumption may be substantiated by further considerations. (a) The Maori believed - as shown in a previous chapter - that the Europeans were a tribe. All tribes had their own men skilled in combating sickness, Such a one in Maoridom was called a "tohunga rongoa", the term actually applied to the European missionary or laymen who had



skill in medical matters. (b) To them, the priests were the mediums of the gods, By analogy the European missionary was the medium of the European God. (c) The missionaries emphasis was not so much upon the love of God so much as on the fear of God. He was to be feared because man, having transgressed the Divine law (substitute tapu for a similar Maori idea) was exposed to the Divine wrath which, if fully directed upon man, would utterly consume him. Thus the Maori hearers gathered the impression that God was very similar to their malignant spirits ..... perhaps Malignant Spirit. (d) The influx of European diseases - fevers, pneumonia, tuberculosis, worms, whooping cough, and venereal diseases - all mentioned during this period, would be regarded as proof that the European God was afflicting them,

Thus before long, instead of the Maori believing that the New Zealand caco demons were afflicting the Europeans, they were afraid that the European God was maliciously disposed towards them. Nene and other chiefs complained to Stack that "the natives were all dying in consequence of the atua pakeha or White People's God...." (42/12.4.30; 17.8.29) Kuki held that the European God was the "Turoro." (42/9.11.25) Very interesting is Stack's record:

"An elderly female told us she was speared by Jesus Christ right through her back, having entered in at her breast. She is pained in these parts, and as they attribute all pain to some God entering them, or otherwise injuring them, it appears she has thought our

God has stabbed her with something." (42/13.1

George also, when his child was afflicted with worms, attributed it to either the missionaries having introduced it or to the European God afflicting them with it. (42/6.11.24)

Thus before long the traditional frame of reference for sickness was so far modified by missionary preaching, teaching and medical practice, and by the introduction of new diseases, that Jehovah had been incorporated into the Maori pantheon as Chief Malignant Spirit! It is this fact, scarcely recognised by the missionaries, that makes sense of some of the otherwise absurd and morally reposterous requests and observations of the Maori people. For example:

"A child of Rangis for whom considerable trouble had been taken to benefit its health, died near our house this afternoon and as a mark of New Zealander's gratitude the father requested to be paid something for the child dying here."  
(42/23.6.28)

To the missionary this was rank ingratitude and was flatly refused. But Rangis no doubt sent his child to the missionary because his child was being afflicted by the missionaries' God. The missionary as a medium of the European God, was supposed to have power over the European God, but the European God had killed his child, he wanted "utu." It was quite reasonable from his own point of view. He was simply claiming damages!

Similarly, George, whom the missionaries frequently visited during his last illness, asked the Hokianga natives to strip the missionaries as compensation for his father's

death on the Boyd in 1809. Here the tribal unity of the missionaries is prominent in his mind. But a further motive is suggested by a record of Turners.

"In the evening visited George again and found him much the same, but his friends were in a still more dissatisfied frame, SPEAKING AS THOUGH WE HAD OCCASIONED HIS AFFLICTION, and some of them said that, IF HE DIED WE WOULD BE PLUNDERED OF ALL WE HAD. We have been much tried with their ingratitude and hard speaking to us today, but they are heathens and we must bear with them."  
(43/5.2.25)

To the missionaries it was ingratitude. But if the above modification of the traditional Maori frame of reference is correct then George's behaviour is quite consistent. He believed that the European God was afflicting him, therefore his friends were entitled to "utu" for his death. However galling to the missionary, it is not illogical. The native acted....even to the threat of sacking Wesleydale....according to how he perceived the situation. Had the missionaries fully realized the practical implications of their type of preaching they no doubt would have modified it accordingly.

Now while the missionaries' medical successes forced changes in the traditional Maori frame of reference concerning sickness, the missionaries also encountered a deep seated conservatism for the old beliefs and methods of cure. This must be enquired into. By 1830 Europeans with a knowledge of medicine had so far gained prestige in the eyes of the Maori that

"Any person who has the name E Tohunga rongoa or E Rata, terms indifferently applied to a medical man the latter being a corruption of the English

term a doctor, seldom fails to be hailed welcome at the native places of residence where disease and misery are often found." (42/14.4.30)

Having gained the confidence of the people it was not long before he was being sent for, or natives came to him, although a native "tohunga rongoa" might also be employed to make sure the patient recovered from the illness which might be "mate maori" or "mate pakeha." Or when the native "tohunga rongoa" was sent for as in the case of Muriwai, so far shaken was his confidence in being able to cure all cases submitted to him, that Rangiwatitiri answered "with pretty good policy ..... if it be a native disease, I can cure it, but if not I cannot." (42/9.7.28) So much did European medical practice grow in favour in some quarters that Patu One insisted his son should stop with the missionaries even although he was so near to death, in the hope that the missionaries' medicine would cure him. (42/3.10.28) This was quite contrary to native custom which, in the case of almost certain death, was to remove the sufferer to the "wahi tapu" or sacred place to die.

These changes appear quite impressive, but are really quite peripheral changes occasioned by a growing confidence in missionary medical work. The fundamental cause for native conservatism in accepting European medical practice, may well have been the realization of the possible ultimate anarchy that would result. The Maori lived in a polytheistic theocracy from which not a department of his life was immune.

Waiving the question of the existence of Io, there were the departmental gods, the tribal gods, the family gods and familiar spirits all of which had important bearings upon his life. Without him, the gods would die, and without the gods he would die. So intimately were they bound together. All causation was from the gods also. Therefore if you struck at the gods, a blow was aimed at the very heart of the *raison d'être* of Maori society with its social organizations and customs, its traditional lore and the mana of its priests and chiefs. Missionary medical practice did just that. Its very humanitarian healing of the body initiated doubts and a distrust in the efficacy of the native gods, and before long the matter of healing became a battle of rival gods. Would not anyone hesitate, perplexed, in such a situation?

early as 1825 Stack records:-

I was pleased and encouraged with our children tonight. Spoke to them of Peter's restoring Eneas and raising Tabitha to life. One of them with a great deal of astonishment exclaimed 'Why Peter surely was Jesus Christ. No wonder' said he, 'the people believed when they saw such things. What do you do?' If one lame man of ours was to be healed every person would believe directly. If Kopidi for instance (meaning a lame native who lived in our valley) was to get the proper use of his legs, all the others would believe directly." (42/22.7.25)

The inference is that if the missionaries worked enough cures of a sufficiently impressive character, they, the Maori people would accept Christianity. It is surely significant that Stack recorded as his opinion that

restricted sense be a thorough knowledge of medicine and surgery amongst a people who attribute all their ailments to a supernatural power." (42/14.4.30)

It is also significant that facts bore out these views, for while by 1830 the missionary, or any European possessing medical knowledge, had gained acceptance among the Maori people, it was about that same year that the Wesleyan missionaries began to record larger attendances at the services of worship and a more widespread interest in missionary teaching. Harold Miller (26) is inclined to emphasize the temporary cessation of hostilities as a reason for turning to enquiry into Christian teaching. It seems equally probable that the Maori people were realizing the social implicates of loss of trust in their gods and the necessity of finding a more acceptable centre for the re-patterning and re-integrating of their social structure to prevent its collapse. Thus the spirit of enquiry among the people corresponding with the acceptance of European medical practices! The apparent battle of the "tohunga rongoas" Maori and Pakeha, was in reality a theological battle of fundamental importance to both Maori, who was aware of it, and missionary, who regarded the saving of the body a little thing compared with the saving of the soul! So from the depth of his need the Maori began to lay hold of the European God who evidently possessed such power. Behold his works! His own clamant, psychological needs determined what he extracted from the missionary system of belief and practice to buttress his own crumbling society.

## CHAPTER X

### MAORI-MISSIONARY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PEACEMAKING SITUATION.

Maori warfare sought to exact utu, or compensation from an offending tribe. "Ututu" did not necessarily require war for the wrong to be avenged, for utu might be obtained by taking possession of the property, rather than the lives, of the offending party. If this latter form of utu was decided upon, and no resistance was met with, then there the matter would end. If, on the other hand, resistance was encountered, then utu would be forcibly exacted by means of war.

For some acts nothing could compensate but the blood of the offending peoples. Inflammatory speeches would be made to the insulted tribe, baskets of the flesh of victims already slain would be sent to prospective allies as an invitation to join the war party, and the expedition would be thoroughly organized.

In a society organized on an "utu" basis, military prowess was an important feature of tribal life. In Maoridom many tribal activities were carried out in a warlike manner. Visiting tribes were welcomed with hakas; the traditional staff of the orator was the spear; a wife obtained from another tribe was secured under the semblance of a fight. Further, distinction in war was the only means open to the commoner to secure a name "kawe iwa" (that would hit the sky).

A few chiefs might slowly plod along the paths of learning and become distinguished agriculturalists, but for the commoner valour in defence of tribal honour was the most rapid and practically only means of gaining distinction among his fellows.

Dedicated to Tu, the god of war, shortly after birth, the Maori youth was trained in agility by his grandsires and later was more fully instructed in the use of weapons by his own father and hardened to the sight of blood and death.

(32 page 198) Upon successfully defending himself against the thrust of the expert, the youth was accepted by that expert for "polishing", and then keenly awaited the arrival of the fighting season. During an expedition, such novices were under the special care of the tohunga who accompanied the war party, and each coveted for himself the honour of killing the first man in the battle.

Tribes kept an account of insults suffered and waited the opportunity for revenge. To forget an insult or injury was most contemptible, and if "utu" could not be obtained by reason of tribal weakness, then there were substitute activities such as rocking one's canoe so that the waves thus created laved in sea beach of the foe. Be the compensation bloody or by black magic, "utu" must be obtained to save the tribal honour from ridicule of contemptuous aggressors.

To die in battle was a great honour, (42/29.9.29) yet battles were not important according to the extent of the slaughter, but by the rank of the persons killed. Buck (8)



tells how Te Whakauruhanga compassed his own death to save his unblemished family line on the pretext of giving his captors a name for their battle.

While insult and injury required compensation which oftentimes could only be obtained by war, the peacemaker was not an unknown personality in ancient Maoridom, and definite peacemaking rituals were widely known. (4) Certain persons were widely known for their pacific activities. Stack (42/14.10.28) mentions Ware Rahi, an old man of the Hokianga, who was generally called by the natives "E tangata hoho rorou", "peacemaker." Nevertheless this role appears to have been a minor one among a people who, according to missionary belief, thought of nothing but ships and war. When peace negotiations were successful, the truce was often made binding by extensive intermarriage between the chiefly families of the reconciled tribes.

During the period under review extensive changes were continuing to take place in Maori inter-tribal warfare (x) with the result that orgies became frequent. With these changes discerning elders became aware of the "awful consequence of continuing...civil discord between...two tribes," and wished for conciliation before the breach became impossible to bridge. (42/21.3.28) The issues were becoming clearly defined. They were on the horns of a dilemma. Either they could cling to the traditional concept of "utu" and precipitate

(x) See Page 19.

war which would probably end in the annihilation of the Maori race, or they could surrender the concept of "utu" and the only major status role open to commoners and chiefs alike and learn the ways of peace, and survive. The issue was forced partly by the devastating nature of Hongi's wars, and partly by the continual exhortations of the missionaries to abandon the folly of war. To abandon war would mean widespread changes in Maoridom, chief among which would be (a) the truncating of the concept of "utu", (b) the abandonment of the only door to social distinction open to chief and commoner alike, and (c) the abandoning of social approval and training in, the arts of war....changes that would be reluctantly make in the absence of some urgent need to change traditional beliefs and practice.

By the missionaries, war was seen as the great scourge of Maori society which occupied most of their interests and energies, and which continually interfered with missionary educational and evangelical programmes, sweeping thousands every year into the eternally burning lake. By their "Instructions" each missionary was furnished with a fowling piece but barter in muskets or warlike weapons of any kind was strictly forbidden. It was expected by the Mission Office that should their agents acquire influence with the natives they would be placed in circumstance of some difficulty arising from quarrels between various chiefs. Their plain line of duty was to observe a strict neutrality, to do good

to all men, to give advice when it was desired, and by pruder remonstrance against cruelty of all kinds, to seek to soften the barbarism of native manners. In actual practice the missionaries did not wait until they were asked but sought to bring about peace by rushing on to the field of battle, or later by travelling with the war parties who had asked them to accompany them in the hope of promoting a reconciliation. To those about to proceed to the wars they said that such as should fall in battle Jehovah would give into the hands of the Devil who would roast them for ever! (40/30.10.25)

Peace, they held, was to be obtained by the repentance of the wrongdoer and the forgiveness of the wronged, (44/20.7.23) and further that the Christian injured party should love his enemies and pray for those who despitefully used them. Self-defence, however, they admitted was permissible. (42/18.5.28)

It is apparent that these two views were almost diametrically opposed. To the Maori, war provided an activity in which he could gain distinction among his fellows. To the missionary it was a certain way to Hell. To the Maori "utu" in property or in person was the customary way to peace. To the missionary peace was through repentance of the wrongdoer and forgiveness by the offended. To forget an insult or injury was, to the native, a sign of weakness or cowardice. To the missionary to forgive and forget was a sign of marked progress in Christian behaviour, and to pray for enemies was the counsel of perfection.

These two opposing viewpoints are well displayed in an entry in Stack's Journal.

"I endeavoured to show Tipui that the many murders which he had committed rendered him a heinous sinner in the sight of God and it would be an act of retributive providence if he should fall by the sword himself. He seemed to allow what I had said was true as a compliment to me, but alas his stupid conscience is seared as with a hot iron and I fear nothing short of a miracle will ever mollify his hard heart." (42/4.1.29)

To Tipui his victims fell by his skill, and his own death in battle would be a triumphal entry in the Po. To Stack his death in battle would be an act of "divine providence" for his brutality which rendered him obnoxious in the sight of God. Obviously the two men viewed the same things from a different background of ideals. The one was proud of his record - the other disgusted. This disgust, and the horrible thought of so many thousands annually going to Hell, drove the missionaries to plead for peace and to intervene on the field of battle.

In Chapter I it was shown that to the Maoris the missionaries were a small tribe who were expected to contribute to the material needs of their protectors. Being adamant in their refusal to contribute to the greater carnage in Maori warfare by supplying muskets, the missionaries were soon regarded with contempt, and their very usefulness was called into question. And when the natives were addressed upon the subject of repentance, White records:

"It pained my heart to witness the levity and contempt that even the children manifested."  
(44/20.7.23)

Despite the antagonistic reception which the missionary views on peace and war received, they continued to plead for peace and to intervene in disputes. Two lines of approach seem to have been effective. (a) When Leigh was ill and was likely to return to the Colony, George promised that he would stay at home and plant potatoes and not go to war if Leigh would remain or promise to return as soon as he was able. By itself, this does not appear very significant, but remembering that the threat of missionary withdrawal had a very quietening effect upon the natives even in their most turbulent moods, it does not seem unlikely that the missionary threat to withdraw from the protection of a particular tribe would have been unfruitful in producing a more conciliatory spirit in one party at least in the proposed conflict. (43/4.12.25) (b)

The second approach may be illustrated from Leigh's first attempt at pacification. Seeing the two war parties approaching to join in battle, Leigh rushed up the hill and standing between the contending parties beckoned the chiefs to meet him. Scarcely had he uttered two sentences in praise of peace than one of the belligerents seized him by the scruff of the neck and hurled him down the hill. Mrs. Leigh rushed to the scene and asked what "utu" was required. "nothing less than a kahu pai", 'a good garment' was the answer. When the coverlet from her own bed had been given as "utu" the chief exclaimed "This pakeha has slain all our hearts." (32/page 194)

Thus war was averted.

This latter method of settling differences and avoiding war seems to have been the method used by Marsden in his New Zealand travels.

"Why do you not do as Mr. Marsden when you hear of our quarrels come amongst us and give us a gift to make up our differences in an amicable manner. You merely tell us not to go. What effect do you think mere words will have on a New Zealander." (42/23.2.28)

The "gift" was most likely "utu" of a material kind as a substitute for blood. To the natives this method of adjusting a dispute was quite common. The missionaries were concerned lest this method of settling disputes be so abused that they were always paying the price of peace from their own frugal stores, and at best, it appeared to them to be temporizing with the whole native attitude to settling disputes. There was but one way to lasting peace, that through repentance and forgiveness. Hence their constant appeal to reason or "mere words" as the native put it.

It was not until the Maori people themselves realized the need of peace and the folly of war that very much could be done by the missionaries. The increasing devastation of Hongi's wars and the hastening disintegration of the old Maori way of life brought home to discerning Maori leaders the urgent need for settling disputes in ways other than a resorting to war. When this need was realized, it was not long before the missionary was welcomed as a peacemaker by the contending tribes. This had come about by 1831 when White recorded in his Journal:

"It is to us exceedingly pleasing that the natives are not only willing but anxious that the missionaries should interfere in such cases. I have been asked again and again if I would not accompany Mr. Williams to the Southward to mediate between the two contending parties." (44/19.9.31)

Orton likewise reports in his Journal that:

"The natives almost invariably admit them as mediators and the Europeans too are frequently made to feel their obligation to the missionaries in the same capacity to prevent or settle affrays between themselves and the natives." (24.5.33)

A year later Woon states that the natives regarded the missionaries as their "best friends as they have prevented war and bloodshed by their pacific interference and that they will gladly receive them as their teachers and friends to reside with, and give them, instruction." (46/31.8.34) This was on the "most respectable native authority."

Under the urgency of a pressing need, the minor role of peacemaking became highly important, and they who were "despised and rejected of men" became sought after and most acceptable to those who had formerly scorned them. Changed needs changed Maori perception of the relative values of peace and war.

It is lamentable that in all their records of efforts to secure peace, the missionaries make very little reference to the details of the actual negotiations. Perhaps this was thought to be interfering too much in native "civil affairs" and should not be reported at any length to the Mission Office! But from the scanty references to their peacemaking activities during the period under review, it seems probable that peace

was secured not by repentance and forgiveness, but by the "adjustment of claims" of the contending parties to the amelioration of the grievances of both and the humbling of the mana of none. The ledger of insult, revenge and counter revenge was ruled off by mutual agreement, so that peace was not secured by following the Christian pattern but by admitting the Christian missionary as a neutral party to bring them together when they saw the need of peace. Mana humbled in repentance was yet to come; substitute status roles for the warrior had yet to be found; prayer for enemies a practice yet to be learnt. Yet if the missionary did little else but adjust these differences, he at least paved the way for subsequent colonization which, however, was not his purpose in leaving England for those barbarous shores, nor was he likely to consider European civilization a blessing to the native people whose welfare he had so much at heart.



## CHAPTER XI

### THE MAORI REACTION TO THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY AS A EUROPEAN.

If the sin of Adam lay in his loving the creature rather than the Creator, then the Maori people of the early period under review in this study, were true sons of Adam. Manning (24) gives a vivid picture of the reception accorded to Europeans and the natives' comments make it obvious that the European was welcomed according to the quantity of European goods brought with him for trade. That one European was morally reprehensible and another the paragon of Christian virtue, did not concern him. He was interested in European trade, and the worth of any European depended upon the quantity of trade he possessed and the facility with which it was made available to them.

In the earlier years of Maori and missionary contacts the Maoris regarded the European generally as belonging to one tribe. They attributed to the European a cultural background similar to their own, and expected the missionary or European to behave in such a manner as they themselves would have done in similar circumstance. When the European did not so act, and refused to fit into the Maori cultural reaction patterns, misunderstanding, annoyance and confusion arose. It soon became apparent however, that the missionary was different from the "Pakeha Maori" and the "Pakeha Maori" was different

from "te Tawera" and before long the Maori people were postulating not one European tribe but at least three different kinds of Europeans viz. the "Pakeha Maori", "te Tewara" and "te Mitingeri." (42/17.3.28) In spite of the missionary teaching that "the white people and the New Zealand men were all made by the same God and all sprung from one man and woman (43/26.7.24) (which astonished them) they could not understand why so many different appellations were given to the Europeans. (42/17.3.24)

"I've been to their (the missionaries') house and they'll not let me in. The native white men are better than the missionaries for they'll not hinder you from going into their houses. Another thing, said Kia Roa, you are not liked for, you do not sell muskets. This and your unkindness render you objects of dislike."  
(42/17.3.28)

Through such clashes of cultural behaviour patterns arising from the trading situation the Maori psychological field regarding Europeans in general and missionaries in particular became more differentiated and resulted in subdividing the original idea that all Europeans belonged to one tribe into the belief that there were several "hapus", shall we say, making up that tribe, and to each "hapu" the Maori had to act differently.

As these differences between the missionaries and the "Pakeha Maoris" on the one hand and the Maori people on the other became more clear cut, so that Maori attitude towards the missionary changed. Disappointed in his expectation of muskets from the missionary, the Maori changed his attitude

from one of welcome to one of dislike - even contempt. The "courageous tribe" (35 page 55) that defended its own property and withstood the teasings of the Whangaroans was regarded as a "lot of old women" (42/3.2.28) or a "forgetful tribe". (42/13.6.25) Leigh records Hongi's attitude to the missionary (32 page ) "Our very children despise you...." Thus at what the missionary regarded as his "high calling" in imparting Christian ideas and conduct to the Maori, the Maori scoffed..... although Turner records that occasionally he made them "feel" (43/21.12.24)....not only because those ideas were different from their own, but principally because they regarded one who refused to sell muskets as having no functional relevance to the then prevailing state of Maori society. Thus confident in his own powers and the sufficiency of his gods, the Maori spurned missionary assistance in cultivating the arts of peace and building up those attitudes which are the marks of Christianity.

In spite of this emotional withdrawal from them the missionaries kept up their attack upon Maori culture. Fortifying themselves with the belief that Jehovah would have the heathen for an inheritance, they related this belief to the Maori people, and as missionary intelligence arrived from the Mission Office in London, told them of the coming of the natives of Tonga and the Friendly Islands and of North America into the Christian Church. What the missionaries were assured of in the "Word of God" and could give instances of in

the world at that time, must have made some impression on the Maori mind, particularly upon scholars in the school who were exposed to this influence for some period of time.

Another line of attack is recorded in Stack's Journal:  
(42/28.3.25; 9.10.25)

"We asked them why they didn't credit what we said to them in reference to spiritual things as they could not deny how far superior we were to them in point of knowledge."

The Maoris knew that the European material culture was superior to his own. That is why they worked for, or stole, such European articles as they wanted. But they had not yet come to the point of accepting what the missionary believed, that the missionaries' "spiritual" culture was superior to their own. Hence they endeavoured to accommodate the European material culture to their native spiritual culture, which resulted in increasing devastation in Maori warfare. But all around them the Maori people was being assailed by Europeans certain of the superiority of their own material and spiritual culture. McNab (25 page 444) quoting Thomas Kendall, mentions the "sovereign contempt in which Europeans generally hold the natives," as being a contributing cause to the frequent disputes between the Europeans and Maori people at the Bay of Islands. No doubt what was true of seamen at the Bay was true of mariners at Whangaroa and Hokianga. Nor were the missionaries free from this attitude. They assumed that they had all to give to the Maori spiritually and that the Maori

were referred to as "boys" or "lads" which terms implied a sense of inferiority or immaturity. Indeed, the missionaries would not have been in so barbarous a land had they not believed that they had something essential both to the individual and national salvation of the Maori to impart.

This constant affirmation of European superiority in material and spiritual culture made its deepest impression upon the scholars in the day schools. As they learnt their catechism, prayers and hymns they also learnt to disbelieve in their native gods and practices, and in the community disparaged the belief and practice of their elders. Some of the scholars were withdrawn from the school, but the misgivings concerning Maori superiority were being entertained and were taking their toll.

As this fact of European superiority began to authenticate itself to the Maori, his first reaction was to justify his traditional behaviour patterns. Many of the chiefs of this period had already travelled extensively and had keenly observed European life and customs, so that in justifying themselves to the European missionaries they had a fund of factual, and often embarrassing, information to draw upon. For example, to justify cannibalism Hudu quotes King George III's remarks upon distressed European sailors agreeing to cast lots to see who shall die to provide food for the others. (40/9.10.25) Death by hanging had been observed in Sydney by a visiting chief, who when being expostulated with for the

brutal murder of a slave defended himself by saying that sudden death by a blow from a mere was swifter and more humane than the pakeha methods. (32 page 185) And Hongi's shrewd eye had perceived "persons in England go out of Church to the house of trade" (42/28.10.25) and so could see no harm in what he did on the Sabbath. More devastating still was the effect of the trading vessels. One chief "replied with a jeer, but without truth, as it respects the origin of polygamy amongst the natives, 'Why did the Pakehas (white people) of the Dromedary cohabit with the New Zealand females if they hold plurality of wives in such abhorrence. I never practised it before they taught me.'" (42/12.2.26) It is an old trick of debate to justify oneself by an argumentum ad hominem of one's opponent. This device is not peculiar to the Pakeha, but was used by the Maori against the missionary who could only admit that many Europeans needed Christianity as much as the Maori and lament that "Thus do the sons of highly favoured Britain give occasion to the heathen to blaspheme." (42/12.2.26) Yet, however astute the Maori was in observing the chasm between the Christian belief of the missionaries and the "Christian" conduct of visiting seamen, had the missionaries eyes to see, they might have perceived that the adoption of such a mechanism designed to justify native behaviour by belittling them really indicated that the Maori had passed from an arrogant contempt to a more defensive attitude, which sought to adjust itself to the missionary demands by

asserting that after all the European was no better than he.

Other facts, however, indicate that the Maori was much more deeply disturbed than appeared on the surface. European diseases, which they believed to be the manifestation of the wrath of the European God, were taking their toll of Maori life. The ensuing depopulation *Kia Roa* explained as the making way for the European settlers by their more powerful God. (32 page 235) Farther, Shungee (Hongi), who was unwilling to return a stolen boat sail, was at last induced to return it when it was pointed out to him that the missionaries were obliged to acquaint the Mission Office of all goods that went astray or were expended in trade. A report that he had stolen the sail would greatly injure his character among those who knew him in England!

The same self-consciousness which characterised their comparison of themselves with Europeans in material culture was beginning to work in the native unconscious in respect of the European spiritual culture. Two accounts of native dreams related to the missionaries, throw light on this point. White (44/17.8.24) records the first:

"One of our boys gave me an account of a dream which he had a few nights ago. In his dream he saw a ladder which reached up to Heaven. At the top he saw a great number of white people, all dressed in a similar garment and their faces shined with gladness. He endeavoured to climb up, but could not, and on enquiry for Jesus Christ, was told that he was higher up and that if he could only get up that he would never come back to earth."

association with the missionaries. The missionaries were obviously regarded as being on a superior plane and in a happier condition than he was, and he was endeavouring to attain to the same plane as the Europeans. The dream bears marks of an awareness of a need to attain to the level of European status, which is enough to indicate that the depths of the Maori personality were being disturbed.

The second dream is related by the Rev. Samuel Leigh.

(32 page 250) The dreamer is Kia Roa.

"Last night while asleep, I saw a great pole, very high, very high indeed! On the top of the pole was a flag, and a little below the flag a man nailed to the pole. He looked down very lovingly upon me, and a white man asked me to go up to him. But as I did not know the white man, I refused to go. If you wish me to go up to him, should I have such another sight, I will go. Was this your Jesus Christ? If so, who was the white man that wished me to go to him?"

For some time Kia Roa had been so attentive to the missionaries' instruction that they believed him almost ready for "conversion." One of the missionaries interviewed him about this. No doubt the white man who asked him to "go up the pole" was the missionary who endeavoured to convert him. The man on the pole was Jesus Christ. The flag flown above the impaled Christ may have been the white flag usually flown on the Sabbath to notify the people of the "ra tapu." Now the Maori attached great significance to dreams. It is also apparent that if that dream recurred Kia Roa would have no hesitation in becoming a Christian now that he knew who the white man was that was thus exhorting him to "Go up." For this study two facts are



important. (a) here is the same symbolism of "going up" to be a Christian, and (b) suspicion of the white man's motives was enough to make a man who attached great importance to dreams, hesitate.

Stack records that on one occasion Te Papatahi informed him that he (Stack) had once been a New Zealander and by transmigration had attained to be a white man. He then enquired, presuming Stack knew something about the process, whether he could reserve the same body he had on earth or whether he would be supplied with another! (42/22.6.28) While the entry in Stack's Journal is quite a cursory one, it would appear that Te Papatahi must have placed some value upon possessing a white body.

Now if the above indicates that the former arrogant attitude of the Maori had changed to one of uncertainty of European intentions in inviting them to become Christians, it is also apparent that different natives were reacting differently to this state of anxiety resulting from the awareness of Maori inferiority in cultural matters, material and spiritual. While Kia Roa, with the caution of age and the conservatism of his chieftainship would not commit himself to the European religion until he was satisfied with the credentials of the Europeans seeking to persuade him to embrace the Faith, some of the native youths attached to the Mission Stations appeared from their dreams of aspiration to be making vigorous efforts to identify themselves with the missionary spiritual culture

and to raise themselves to the European level. Others explained the only too apparent differences between the Maori and European by a modification of their thought, i.e. by asserting that the two had sprung from different parents and therefore the Maori never would be able to attain to the level of the European in material and spiritual culture. This the missionaries rebutted by invoking the Biblical narrative of Adam and Eve as the progenitors of the entire human family. The effect of accepting the two different parents theory would have been to eliminate any spur to achieve likeness to the European spiritual cultural patterns. Like many moderns it is easier to blame one's heredity - or environment - than to make any effort to change one's behaviour patterns. Thus Patu One and Te Ware Rahi, accepting the theory that Europeans and Maoris were descended from different parents, would not believe that ever the New Zealanders could be civilized. "And though we told them that our forefathers were as wild as they are before they were taught, they persisted in saying that New Zealanders would never cease to run about and fight, and therefore would always remain as they are." (40/12.11.27)

Others, who appear to have been a much smaller group, dared to believe that if ever the Maoris were to become Europeanized then they must have more Europeans settle among them. (44/3.8.24) This no doubt was true, but from the spirit of the missionary correspondence, perhaps it would not be too far amiss to assume that this was more of an incentive for the

missionaries to bring out more personnel...and trade...to achieve their desired end...and the Maoris.

While this awareness of European superiority in matters of material and spiritual culture was felt by the Maoris as a sense of inferiority, it also impelled some to identify themselves to a greater or lesser degree with the Europeans ways of life and thus restored a sense of emotional poise and self respect. Inferiority was the functional dynamic which led many to an ego-identification with the missionaries and thus adopt many forms of 19th century Christian piety. It has already been indicated that so long as the Bible was held to account for the abysmal differences that existed between the Maori and Christian cultural patterns, then learning to read the Bible was the means that must be adopted to attain equality with the European in spiritual and therefore (so the missionaries held) material culture. The pride and the vanity which accompanied the conquest of the art of reading was not only the pride of conquest but also the glow of satisfaction that accompanied a rise in social status, for those who learned to read fluently often became "Native Teachers" who had a status and acceptability with both natives and missionaries.

Where this functional dynamic existed, it would be directed into a number of channels which to the unstirred Maori had no appeal, and former abhorrent patterns of behaviour were adopted enthusiastically or submitted to with less resistance

being washed with soap and water, but when told that such washing made them look more like Europeans they became more reconciled to the procedure. By a similar appeal Mrs. Leigh was able to combat the common practice of infanticide. By promising to each expectant mother a complete set of European clothes for the child on the attainment of three months of age, the practice was effectively counteracted and the children were displayed with great pride to the other native women. (32 page 199)

The advance, then, of European and Christian belief and practice among the Maori people was paralleled in the Maori mind by a succession of felt needs which impelled them to adopt patterns of behaviour advocated by the missionaries. Until those needs became pressing the missionaries made little headway. At first war, and the ability to defend themselves were the most urgent needs. From 1820 onwards the European was welcome for the muskets he could provide but because the missionaries refused to supply such, they had no apparent functional relevance to the then state of Maori society. By 1830 the devastating effects of the abandonment of the hill sites for the swamps where the flax grew or for the kauri forests where spars were cut and timber sawn, and the advent of new diseases (worms 1824, whooping cough and fever through exposure in 1829, and venereal diseases through shipping contacts) gave any European with a knowledge of medicine ready acceptance among the Maori people.. By 1831, when the Maori

was on the horns of a dilemma the missionaries were readily admitted as peacemakers in inter-tribal disputes likely to issue in war. By 1832 blankets and hoes were being preferred to muskets and Maori was teaching Maori to read and write in the well attended village schools and they found such to be the means to becoming like the missionaries in spiritual and material culture. And, by 1840 it was the Christian Chiefs who took the initiative in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi thereby opening the way for the establishment of British law and order among them.

When offered an answer to a felt need, the Maori usually accepted the answer, but the need had to be felt to induce any change in his previous pattern of behaviour. As the missionary was able to help the Maori through these successive crises, so his mana rose and the demand for his services increased. Leigh (32 page 415) reports to the Mission Office that sea captains had been offered "any quantity of pigs, potatoes or flax for a missionary who can pray and teach them the way to the God and heaven of the white man." So he who was rejected and despised because he would not trade in muskets and prohibited the intrusion of the natives into the Mission compound, and who provoked thereby a strong sense of resentment, and made the Maori aware of a sense of inferiority in matters material and spiritual, also provided means whereby the aspirations of the Maori could be directed into the mastery of European knowledge, arts and

skills, and the people saved from a damning sense of inferiority. It is to the credit of the missionary that the psychological energy resulting from the many prohibitions he enforced was directed towards the mastery of ideals and knowledge not only worthy of attainment but also basic to a Christian civilization. They that sowed in tears did reap in joy.

P A R T

I V

## CHAPTER XII

### THE REACTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO STRESS.

For both Maori and missionary the twelve years under review were times of severe stress. Particular stresses arose from different sources, but there are three more comprehensive classes of stress which embrace the multitude of particular types. These three more general classes are:

1. Stress arising from a sense of uncertainty.
2. Stress consequent upon frustration in attaining a goal.
3. Stress engendered in the conflict between desires and ideals and other such dilemma situations.

The way they comprehend into themselves the more particular causes of stress is apparent from the following classification in which Maori reactions illustrative of each type have been separated from similar missionary reactions.

#### A CLASSIFICATION OF THE TYPES OF STRESS. (MAORI)

##### 1. STRESS ARISING FROM A SENSE OF UNCERTAINTY.

###### A. Uncertainty about continuity of life made for stress.

In Maoridom this arose from the intensification of inter-tribal wars(pages 19, 21); apprehension concerning retaliatory measures being taken for the burning of the "Boyd" (page 21); from diseases occasioned by the abandoning of hill sites for swamps and forests areas (page 19); from diseases consequent upon personal intercourse with Europeans (page 68); from Missionary teaching that the unchristianized burn for ever



and ever (page 77).

- B. Uncertainty derived from the apparently capricious behaviour of the missionary made for stress.

By insisting upon trading with whom they desired, by insisting upon trading upon their terms, by trading only at such times as they thought fit, and by asserting their own autonomy and privacy, the missionary not only thwarted the Maori lust for the rapid acquisition of European goods but also appeared capricious in the eyes of those who knew intimately the ramifications of rights and obligations involved in the "protection" situation. (Pages 37 - 40)

- C. Uncertainty occasioned by ignorance of missionary intentions gave rise to stress.

Kia Roa's indecision in becoming a Christian was derived from his not knowing who was inviting him to "go up the pole" (page 91), and his interpretation of the depopulation occurring in his district was that the White man's God was killing the Maori, he presumed, in order to make way for the white man.

- D. Uncertainty about future status in the eyes of other people generated stress.

The threat of withdrawal from the protection of a particular tribe meant (a) loss of easy access to the possession of European goods, (b) loss of future prestige in the eyes of neighbouring peoples through loss of articles of trade, (c) in the event of missionary withdrawal, ridicule by natives of adjacent settlements (page 32). The threat of writing to the Missionary Committee informing them of Hongi's theft

of a boat sail which would involve loss of status in the eyes of the Missionary Committee was sufficient to induce Hongi to surrender the sail! (page 90)

## 2. STRESS CONSEQUENT UPON FRUSTRATION IN ATTAINING A GOAL.

### A. Frustrations of the struggle to survive made for stress.

Missionary refusal to sell muskets was the major cause of frustration in the struggle to survive (page 34), although the threat of withdrawal, implying a loss of access to European medical skill, is not irrelevant.

### B. Frustration or restriction of movement caused stress.

Mission fences, designed not only to isolate the missionary but also to exclude the Maori, were a cause of much annoyance to the Maori (page 85). In the schools set hours of rising, dining, lessons, devotions and retiring were contrary to native mores and engendered stress (Pages 51 - 52).

### C. Thwarting of aspirations gave rise to stress.

Awareness of inferiority to the European and unsuccessful attempts to attain to European status led to anxiety dreams (Pages 90-91).

## 3. STRESS ENGENDERED IN THE CONFLICT OF DESIRES AND IDEALS AND OTHER SUCH DILEMMA SITUATIONS.

The three major dilemma situations confronting the Maori can be stated as:-

(a) Either they claved to the institution of "utu" which so often issued in war and thus suffered annihilation as a people or they surrendered "utu" and war and the only role whereby the commoner could gain rapid recognition in the

eyes of his fellows, and survive (page 76).

(b) Either they abandoned native customs and gained recognition by Europeans or they clung to native customs and were denied European recognition. For example, many European sea captains refused to allow on board any native who had tasted human flesh.

(c) Either they withdrew from contacts with the missionaries, lost access to European articles of trade, but preserved their rights, or they fostered contacts with the missionaries to obtain articles of European trade, and surrendered their rights. (Page 33).

#### A CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES OF STRESS. (MISSIONARY)

##### 1. STRESS ARISING FROM UNCERTAINTY.

###### A. Uncertainty about the continuity of life m

This arose from acts or threats of violence against missionaries or their dependents (pages 42-3).

###### B. Uncertain means of subsistence occasioned stress.

Native theft of articles of "trade" (page 43); native boycotts on meat foods (page 41); uncertainty of replenishing depleted supplies from passing vessels or from the stores in Sydney or the Mission Offices in London, were severe stresses during the earlier part of missionary activity in New Zealand.

###### C. Uncertainty occasioned by missionary dependence upon apparently capricious chiefs and irrational customs led to stress.

The possibility of being plundered upon the deaths of Hongi and George kept the Missional personnel in a state of suspense for months (page 70).

- D. Awareness of isolation and lack of help in time of need causes stress.

The infrequency of shipping, the distance from the Bay of Islands, Sydney and Great Britain; isolation from relatives and friends; deprivations of the comforts of civilization all engendered a nostalgia peculiar to the sense of being isolated.

## 2. STRESS CONSEQUENT UPON FRUSTRATION IN ATTAINING A GOAL.

- A. Stress follows deprivation of bodily satisfactions.

Hunger through native boycott on meat foods, (page 41), fatigue from incessant toil (page 17) and sexual urges arising from prolonged and enforced celibacy all militated against the smooth running of the Mission. White, Hobbs and Stack were all bachelors and all pressed the necessity of returning to Sydney or Great Britain to secure a wife.

- B. Frustration of ideals leads to stress.

Being obliged to act as sawyers, carpenters and traders was repugnant to those who had envisaged giving all their time to the conversion of the heathen (page 17). Lack of facility in the native tongue and the refusal of the Mission Office to despatch a competent linguist meant a longer period of enforced idleness upon those concerned to "redeem the time."

STRESS ENGENDERED FROM THE CONFLICT OF DESIRES AND IDEALS AND OTHER SUCH DILEMMA SITUATIONS.

The major conflicts may be stated as follows:-

- (a) Either the missionary yielded to his sexual urges and sought satisfaction among the Maori women (which was

unacceptable to the Christian requirement to "marry in the Lord"), or he denied his sexual urges their natural satisfaction in the hope that at some future date he would be permitted to return to civilization to find a wife.

(b) The missionary was likewise torn between his desire to be accepted by the Maori people yet in loyalty to his calling was compelled to act in such a way as would incur both their wrath and rejection of him (page 85).

From an examination of the Missionary Correspondence certain modes of reaction to stress are also apparent and in outlines these modes of reaction to stress are similar for both Maori and missionary. They are (a) aggression, (b) withdrawal, (c) co-operation.

#### REACTIONS TO STRESS. (MAORI)

1. AGGRESSION. This may take any of three forms.

A. Direct aggression, i.e. aggression against the real source of frustration or stress.

An example is the assault upon the Rev. Nathaniel Turner (page 43) and the attempted intimidation of the missionaries to secure possession of articles of trade.

B. Displaced aggression, i.e. acts of violence perpetrated not against the cause of the stress but against some other person or object.

Aggressive activity against other than the person of the offender was a recognised institution in Maori society. If "utu" could not be obtained from the guilty party, the person of another member of the same tribe would be equally acceptable to the one seeking satisfaction. Nevertheless,

George directs his wrath not against the missionary, but against Mission property by threatening to set fire to it.

- C. Sublimated aggression, i.e. aggressive tendencies denied an outlet in violent form may be drained of their energy through such outlets as contemptuous attitudes, ridicule, teasing, and the like.

White could not work for the teasing; Stack was constantly chaffed about being "sickly". These tactics may well have been deliberately employed to provoke aggression from the missionary and thus pave the way for demanding "utu" in the form of an iron pot or other such cherished article.

Aggression is frequently followed by a sense of relief and well-being similar to that which accompanies "having got it off your chest." Thus Turner's assailant returns several days later wishing to be reconciled. (page 43) So also following the intensification of inter-tribal warfare in the late 'twenties there was a spasm of peace for two years and a mutual desire for the cessation of hostilities (page 22).

It is also apparent from the Correspondence that when violence and fear hunt in harness then wild rumours spread from one terrified tongue to another. Fear of British reprisals for the burning of the "Boyd" gave rise to rumours that a man o'war would come in the summer and kill all the chiefs and make the commoners slaves (page 21). Likewise fugitives from Kaiapra grossly overestimate the slaughter. Also in those uncertain times

## 2. WITHDRAWAL.

In a stress situation a person may withdraw from contact with the cause of the stress. Such withdrawal may be complete and give temporary or permanent relief. On the other hand such withdrawal may be more frustrating than association with the cause of stress.

The withdrawal of children from the Mission schools (page 53) is a case of complete withdrawal from intimate missionary contacts. Muriwai's threat of "No trade, no karakia" (page 41) was ineffective simply because the consequent missionary withdrawal from the Maori would be more punishing to the Maori than to the missionary.

## 3. CO-OPERATION.

In a stress situation a person may resolve the stress by co-operating with the person occasioning the stress.

Hika had so completely identified himself with the interests of the missionaries that he did not wish to return to New Zealand from Sydney (page 56); he could be trusted implicitly to guard the Mission stores (page 45); he preferred European clothing and manners, method of disciplining children (page 54) and ultimately religion. Many young Maoris in the Mission schools were disturbed not only by the discipline but also by the teaching, yet among their elders became active propagandists of missionary views.

REACTIONS TO STRESS. (MISSIONARY)

### AGGRESSION.

#### A. Direct Aggression.

Hobbs disapproves of White wrestling with the natives. White retorts that Hobbs has been guilty of the same behaviour.

While this type of reaction is mentioned only in the acrimonious correspondence with the Mission Office very little of it is recorded in the missionaries' Journals.

B. Displaced Aggression.

The missionary community was harrassed by internal divisions. It is difficult to say how much of the stress from Maori sources was discharged upon other members of the missionary body and how much arose from jealousies and the idiosyncrasies of other missionaries. The present writer would judge that the idiosyncrasies of other missionaries were the sparks that exploded the powder of Maori occasioned stress. If this be so, then the internal grievances which marked the Superintendency of the Rev. William White would be in part displaced and in part sublimated forms of aggression. White obliged Stack to vacate his room in the store, and deprived Hobbs of direct access to rations and suspended him from the Mission!

C. Sublimated Aggression.

At Whangaroa much of the emotional tension was discharged by an intensified effort to evangelize the Maoris which was seen as the only hope of avoiding calamity. When violence had been suffered an effort was made to reason with the aggressor (page 43). In inter-missionary quarrels much of the aggressive tendencies were directed into writing letters of complaint to the Mission Office.

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threatening life and limb of dependents, the missionaries abandoned Whangaroa as a Mission site (page 12). In more peaceful times the mere threat of withdrawal was sufficient to make a distinct improvement in Maori treatment of the missionary (page 80).

In the inter-missionary situation withdrawal offered a solution. Hobbs withdrew from the New Zealand Mission and embarked for the Friendly Island Mission (page 17). Later White was superseded as Superintendent and subsequently withdrew from the Mission altogether.

#### CO-OPERATION.

Of missionary co-operation with the Maori in Maori activities there is no evidence. The missionary regarded himself as the giver and the Maori as the recipient of what he had to bestow. When asked to help in pursuits of which he approved the missionary did so, notably in assisting the sick, making peace and quenching the thirst for knowledge. But in some of the activities the missionary had to create the need before his help was sought.

Despite the tensions-producing-situations common to all spheres of inter-cultural contact, there were not only the above classified modes of draining off or discharging the emotional energy generated in the stress situations, there were also certain factors which tended to hold the two cultures together in a state of imbalance until a satisfactory balance of cultures had been worked out. Those factors operating for both Maori and missionary are listed below.

FACTORS TENDING TO SUSTAIN THE IMBALANCE AND MAKE FOR A NEW  
BALANCE IN INTER-CULTURAL STRESS. (MAORI).

- A. Useful articles of European material culture derived from the missionary tended to hold the two cultures together in a state of imbalance.

The threat of missionary withdrawal was the most punishing weapon in the missionary armoury for curbing - if only temporarily - Maori aggressive tendencies.

- B. The acquirement of European arts, skills and education from the missionaries tended to hold the two cultures together in a state of imbalance and to make for a new inter-cultural balance.

While some of the skills may have been sought as an end, education was almost always regarded as a means to an end. The missionary believed and taught that the difference between the Maori and the European (and therefore Christian, as these two were not always clearly separated in missionary thought) was due to the influence of the Bible. Therefore the means to acquiring the material and spiritual culture of the missionaries lay ultimately in learning to read the Bible.

- C. Gaining acceptance by the missionary and prestige in the eyes of other Maori people tended to hold the two cultures together in a state of imbalance and to make for a new inter-cultural balance.

This could only be done by the Maori identifying himself with missionary beliefs and practices. He who could read and write, who knew the Catechism, who believed the Scriptures and was "converted", had passed from hell to heaven, from darkness to light, from rejection by the missionaries to acceptance by the missionary, and stood on common ground with the European missionary before the Supreme Father and Judge.

of all mankind. He would be accepted as a Native Teacher and achieve a new status with both missionary and Maori and a new role among his fellows and co-operate with the missionary in changing further the ancient order of Maori society. There is little doubt that a section of the community propagating a new faith among people of its own community is more telling than for people of another culture to attempt to propagate the same faith in the same community.

FACTORS TENDING TO SUSTAIN THE IMBALANCE AND MAKE FOR A NEW BALANCE IN INTER-CULTURE STRESS. (MISSIONARY)

- A. Increasing relief from economic insecurity and such subsidiary missionary occupations as sawing and building reduced stress occasioned by loss of means of subsistence and diversion from the main end of evangelistic endeavour.

This meant more time and energy to give to the essential work of a missionary, and therefore a more sustained attack upon the "strongholds of evil." Facility in the native tongue gave better understanding of Maori beliefs and customs and a more perfect vehicle whereby to communicate Christian teaching to the Maori community.

- B. Aggressive tendencies displaced from their cause to an attack upon Maori culture meant an intensified drive to evangelize.
- C. Persistent unbelief on the part of the Maori confirmed the missionary conviction that the Maori was a "degraded race", and that the Maori people stood in special need of the Gospel.
- D. The conversion of some of the Maori people confirmed the Biblical view that Jehovah would have the heathen for an inheritance, and encouraged and therefore intensified missionary evangelistic activity.

From displaced aggression, persistent unbelief of the Maori,

and from the success of the few conversions that took place within the span of years embraced by this study, energy was gained to perpetuate the state of stress and imbalance between the two people.

- E. The growing acceptance of the missionary as a friend and counsellor, and the growth of his prestige in Maori eyes reduced the antagonism between the two peoples and eventually led to the missionary being accepted by the Maori people.

Such acceptance was in the following order.- trade, medicine, education, peacemaking, religion.

#### SUMMARY.

Both Maori and missionary were in a condition of stress. Despite differences in culture, that stress was occasioned by similar causes and relieved by similar psychological processes. Within the stress situation factors of missionary origin were operating to perpetuate the stress, while factors from the Maori side were moving towards a new balance between the two cultures. Only as the Maori became aware of the inadequacy of his traditional beliefs did he find any functional relevance in missionary belief and practice in the stress situation. When he became aware of the relevance of missionary belief and practice then he co-operated with the missionary to become like the European in material and spiritual culture and to find a new status and new roles in the new inter-cultural pattern of society.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE EFFECT OF STRESS UPON BELIEFS.

Not only did the individuals involved in the distressing period of inter-cultural contacts under review react to these stresses in particular ways, but the beliefs they held also underwent changes. Those changes were not the same for both Maori and missionary. This may be accounted for largely by the fact missionary beliefs were confidently held by militant propagandists, whereas Maori beliefs were held by men in doubt. The beliefs of the latter soon passed from an aggressive phase to a self-justificatory attitude, to disbelief and finally to an acceptance of part at least of the missionary teaching. This bid for a change in Maori belief and practice was the missionary bid for the "conversion" of the Maori people which, however, was not fully accomplished within the span of years encompassed by this study. Nevertheless, the end was in view and there was sufficient change taking place to warrant drawing several conclusions concerning the nature of beliefs, concerning the way beliefs may react to stress, concerning what factors tend to produce changes in beliefs, and concerning the nature of the new or changed beliefs. These findings are presented in summary form in the following paragraphs.

#### THE NATURE OF BELIEFS.

1. Beliefs help to meet certain basic needs of the personality by giving a sense of security derived from an adjustment to the total environment of which the individual is aware.

That beliefs meet the needs of individuals is apparent from the institution of tapu in Maori society where its influence ranged from protecting the person and property of a chief to the securing of a closed season for fowling and fishing thus preserving the food supply for the tribe. Beliefs had a similar purpose for the missionary. The fear of death, judgment and hell had been drawn by the belief that through faith in Jesus Christ, death - whether natural or by violence - would usher the believer into the immediate presence of his Master. (page 43)

2. Beliefs form inter-dependent wholes in which change in one part necessitates modification in other parts.

In healing the sick the missionary was not only bringing relief from pain by his apparently secular activities, but in a society where all sickness was regarded as being of supernatural causation, was also making an attack upon the gods. His physical ministrations had widespread theological implications. (page 69) Missionary violation of tapu likewise undermined the mana of the Maori gods.

3. Beliefs influence the way an individual perceives and reacts to a particular situation.

To the Maori warfare was the only opportunity for the commoner to achieve rapid recognition among his people and was the last resort in avenging insult and injury to the tribal honour. Therefore it was a recognised and necessary institution in Maori society. To the missionary it was the means of annually sending many thousands to the "burning lake". (page 78) Likewise, in making peace, peace was made not according to the missionary formulae of repentance and forgiveness, but

by means of the adjustment of claims, the ruling off of the ledger. (page 83) Similarly, dispatching a slave by a blow from a mere to the missionary was barbaric while hanging was just; to the Maori hanging was inhuman while sudden death from the blow of a mere was humane. (page 88)

Such incompatibilities of belief and practise as these, mark the whole of the period under review and brought the representatives of the two cultures into constant collision. These incompatibilities were accentuated by the militancy of missionary beliefs. The effect of the stress thus engendered upon Maori and missionary beliefs was quite different.

#### THE EFFECT OF STRESS UPON MISSIONARY BELIEFS.

1. Under stress militant beliefs tend to be confirmed. The conditions prevailing in Maori society, the treatment they endured and the dominant customs and institutions in Maoridom confirmed the missionary in his belief that that Maori was a fallen race; that they were inferior to the Europeans in material and spiritual culture (page 87); that their Gospel was the only means of changing the Maori culture for the better; that the Gospel had made the Europeans superior to the Maori in material and spiritual culture; that this should be apparent to the Maori (page 87). The conversion of some of the native people also confirmed their belief in the Biblical promise that Jehovah would have the heathen for His inheritance (page 86).
2. Upon the attainment of their end, militant systems of belief tend to become more pacific towards former rival beliefs.

This can only be sensed from the general tenor of the Missionar Correspondence, but may be compared with the sense of relief and general euphoria that tends to follow aggression.

#### THE EFFECT OF STRESS UPON MAORI BELIEFS.

1. Under stress assailed beliefs tend to become consolidated and militant.

The consolidation of beliefs manifested itself in the arrogant attitudes of Hongi and the Maori children to the missionaries (page 86); in the refusal of warriors to believe that if killed in battle they would burn for ever and ever (page 78); in the attempt of Tohi Tapu to bewitch the Rev. Henry Williams. Similar movements have occurred in the Counter Reformation and today, in the revived militancy of Buddhism in Ceylon.

2. Under prolonged stress the inadequacies of beliefs may become apparent, and the holder of them thrown on to the defensive by seeking to justify held beliefs by pointing out the apparent inadequacies of the aggressive belief, (pages 88,89)
3. Under prolonged stress beliefs tend to syncretise - the new beliefs being interpreted in terms of the old.

Instead of being assailed by an "atua" the sick woman speared by Jesus Christ (page 68) and thus the European God was thrust into the Maori pantheon as the author of at least European sicknesses and diseases. In the religious field this led to a practical monolatry rather than to a real monotheism.

In these respects the influence of stress upon beliefs is similar to the influence of stress upon individuals. The same basic movements are apparent, i.e. persons and their beliefs may move against each other as in an individual's



aggression or in the intensification and militancy of a belief; may move away from each other as in withdrawal from contact with the aggressive person or belief; may move toward the aggressive person in co-operation or toward the militant belief in syncretism. From the intimate connection between belief and behaviour a similar pattern of basic movements would be expected.

#### FACTORS CAUSING CHANGES IN BELIEFS.

From the Missionary Correspondence there appear to be two main factors which tend to produce changes in beliefs. These are stress and new opportunities for satisfying aspirations and thus achieving a sense of security.

1. Stress occasions changes in beliefs.
  - A. Stress engendered by reason tends toward changing beliefs.

By pointing out the absurdities of Maori beliefs; by reasoning with an aggressor (page 43); by indicating the consequences of certain modes of behaviour (page 78); the missionaries brought pressure to bear upon accepted Maori beliefs. Reason was the main factor operating in the schools and there was effective but in the heat of conflict was of little avail (page 80).

- B. Stress engendered by the observation of new facts and practices tended to modify older beliefs.

Because the European missionary cured certain diseases introduced from European sources, the Maori came to believe that the European God was afflicting them (page 68) and then divided diseases into two groups, Maori and

Pakeha. They likewise indicated that if the missionaries healed a certain lame man, that would change them into Christians quicker than anything (page 72)!

- C. Stress arising from contacts with other systems of belief tender to change the traditional beliefs.

The missionaries appealed to the Maori people to accept European spiritual culture on the ground that it was obvious from their contacts with Europeans that European material culture was superior to their own (page 87). In like vein the missionaries appealed to the Maori to become Christian by reporting that the Friendly Islanders, the Fijians and the North American Indians were no doing so (page 86).

Likewise, contacts with visiting European seamen, and the hearty contempt experienced at their hands, changed Maori belief in his own superiority to belief in his inferiority to the European (page 87). This factor in changing men's beliefs is as old as the rise of Greek philosophy and as modern as the New Zealand soldier returning from overseas service with much less conviction that the faith he holds is the answer to the world's needs.

2. New opportunities for satisfying aspirations and achieving a sense of security led to changes in beliefs.

The rough treatment given by many Europeans and the observations of the advantages of many aspects of European material culture produced in the Maori a sense of inferiority, whereas educational attainment and religious conformity - particularly when accompanied by mental ability and social status - gave to the Maori opportunities of satisfying his

aspiration of being accepted by the Europeans, of being on the same footing as the missionaries before Jehovah the impartial Judge of all mankind, and of sharing in European material culture (for the missionaries taught that their civilization was the product of their Faith). These opportunities for satisfying aspirations were no doubt powerful forces in producing changes in Maori religious beliefs.

#### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW BELIEFS.

Finally, the new beliefs had certain characteristics.

1. The new beliefs, like the old, served the needs of living.

The new beliefs gave a sense of security in that they brought with them an acceptance of the Christianized Maori by the European missionary and by the the missionaries' God both of whom were now recognised as potent forces in the community. Through religious conformity the previous tensions tended to fade and a new psychological equilibrium to be established.

2. Strongly structured beliefs tend to preserve their structural stability by

##### A. Creating new sub-structures.

This is seen in the development of Maori thought about Europeans. First Europeans were thought to belong to one tribe which, upon closer observation, was sub-divided into several smaller groups such as the missionary, the pakeha-maori and Te Tawerra (page 85). Likewise in sicknesses the new sub-structure of "European diseases" was created to account for the new facts observed. (page 71).

##### B. Interpreting new facts in terms of old beliefs.

Instead of a caco-demon afflicting the sick it was Jesus Christ (page 68). Belief in the supernatural causation of sickness remained, but a new striking agent was employed. Likewise, the folly of war and the need for a lasting peace came to be recognised, but the method of making peace was the traditional method. (page 83) In all his reactions to the missionary the Maori reacted in terms congruous with his old beliefs. Some of these beliefs and practices were not fully Christian but the facts seem to indicate that a genuine response will be made in this manner rather than in the wholesale adopting of European thought-forms and behaviour patterns which could only be carried through by slavish imitation and therefore have only a superficial value. On the belief level this method of change is similar to what Malinowski calls the "common factor." in his theory of social change (23).

#### SUMMARY.

Beliefs exist to meet the needs of men and tend to form inter-dependent wholes. In accordance with their beliefs men react to new situations. If the belief is militant, the clash of beliefs tends to re-inforce and harden the militant belief while prolonged stress arising from various sources, and opportunities for satisfying aspirations and achieving a sense of security, tend to throw assailed beliefs on to the defensive and ultimately to modify them. The resulting changed belief, like the older belief, serves a living need. The changed belief,

however, tends to take over the structural stability of the old belief. By adding new sub-structures or by interpreting new facts in terms of the old belief it makes new and discordant facts and beliefs congruous with beliefs already held.

The attitude of the Maori toward the missionary rather than the intellectual formulation of new beliefs was the more radically changed personality factor in the Maori-missionary relationships in the period under review in this study.

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40. Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. John Hobbs.
41. Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. Samuel Leigh.
42. Extracts from the Journal of Mr. James Stack.
43. Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner.
44. Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. William White.
45. Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. John Whitely.
46. Extracts from the correspondence of the Rev. William Woon.